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One." An informant, wishing to emphasize the care lavished on this being, pointed to a photograph from an illustrated paper of Princess Mary, Viscountess Lascelles, bending over her infant. He remarked that this was the kind of attention shown by *Xemxemälstla* to his charge.

Of slightly greater importance is the hermaphrodite, *Spuntz*. He resides in the land above, and spends most of his time outside the walls of *Nusmăl·a*, acting as guardian to a number of young girls, the children of various supernatural beings. On many occasions he has descended to this world and has been seen by mortals, who recognize him by his peculiar nasal voice, intermediate between that of a man and a woman. It is supposed that human hermaphrodites have been affected in some mysterious way by their supernatural prototype.

Several informants stated that they had heard of hermaphrodites among other tribes, and thought that such existed among their own people in early times, but the term is usually applied, without physiological significance, to two types of individual supposedly affected by *Spuntz*. Several cases are alleged of a male infant changing to a female on being washed and brought into the house. One of these, a girl about twelve years of age, was living in Bella Coola in 1923. The basis for these accounts is certainly error concerning the sex of a new-born child. The second class consists of those who desire to perform the work of the opposite sex. For example, if a boy shows an aptitude for woman's work, the parents, realizing that he wants to be a girl, dress and treat him accordingly. One informant knew of a Kimsquit boy, two Bella Bella, and several Kitimat to whom this had occurred. Henceforth they dressed as women, but in due course they took wives whom they helped in all feminine tasks. Another informant knew of two cases of the kind in which the men did not marry and were believed to have an aversion to women. One instance is known of a Kitimat woman who, having assumed man's costume and occupations, refused either to marry or to have anything to do with her own sex. Another case is of a Carrier

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woman who dressed as a man and used to hunt successfully, though she was married. Such practices are said to have been not uncommon among the Haida. The women were considered bold and independent, but the Bella Coola of today know little about them, and are not even certain that *Spuntz* is responsible for a female assuming the actions of a male. It will be readily understood that he is not regarded with much awe, nor does he influence their daily lives.

Another supernatural being, uninfluential though resident upon earth, is Echo, *Satsalûnî*, "The Voice Repeater." The Bella Coola regard him as a male being, in human form, and recognize his presence whenever sounds reverberate. He figures in mythology, occasionally appears as a masked figure at *kwiat* or *nusuk* dances, but has neither helped nor harmed human beings for so many generations that he is accordingly neglected.

A supernatural being from whom many Bella Coola have had unpleasant visitations is *Sîlhmsila*, the cause of nightmares. He is a man-like creature with black face and an enormous head which he constantly scratches. His home is in *Nusmâ·a*, but he frequently descends to this world and frightens sleepers. If a person scratches his head while asleep it is because he has just seen *Sîlhmsila* doing so, and if he walks in his sleep it is to escape this supernatural visitor. A sleep-walker is usually aroused by having a bucket of water thrown over him. A person frequently troubled by *Sîlhmsila* can avoid him by painting a black circle around each eye before going to sleep.

With the exception of *Alquntâm*, the supernatural beings thus far described play little part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They believe in their existence, but do not expect to meet them, and do not believe that they exercise much influence on the course of their daily life. Supernatural beings of this ineffective type are exceptional. A man goes into remote parts of the mountains, or even into little frequented areas around his village, with mingled fear lest he encounter an actively malicious being, and hope that he may meet a benevolent one. More-

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424 nearest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
979 Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
825 narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not [582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of exogamy.

211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet
424 they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
793 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral
825 myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a [532] design is impressed with the glories of the family history of [556] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of [304] the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delineation is a memento of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed* with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his 890 family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[171] [184] *It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with puberty rites; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time and then ground into a powder. This keeps indefinitely and can be made ready for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.

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lies in public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man who is constantly begging.

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a tribe divided into clans or land-owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its intangibility. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members of his ancestral family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his mate within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to members of the immediate family may be extended to members of the ancestral family, but in practice this is rarely the case, and, if so, is functionless. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a contention. When trying to discover whether the members of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following interesting comment was received. The previous winter the informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom he quoted as follows:

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

The man agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

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621
623 ture, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact
[595] this ceremonial unity is its most important function.
[994] With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore,
each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the
361 river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built
[184] type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them
342 stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side
[171] nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many
cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by
the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two
rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there
[487] is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge
[164] of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox
epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty,
others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of
the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space.
[433] Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages,
each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean
fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.
342 The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire,
[354] often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor,
and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-
walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the dif-
ferent families, or for different members of one. In many cases
the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for
small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire
being used for heating and for more important meals. The
[572] number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an
[223] important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous
house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses
contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free
and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and any-
[261] one present when food is being distributed is given a share as
353 a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with
[535] carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall.
A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important
in dances.

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622 556 431 broader principles of chieftainship. The first essential is to consider the principles of present-giving.

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556 431 424 Consider, for example, a man who wishes to take for himself one of his ancestral names, and at the same time to display certain features of his ancestral myth—a particular type of house, totem-pole, or dance used by one of his forefathers. He invites guests to his house, displays the feature of his myth, and must give a present to each to show the value of his prerogative and to demonstrate that he has not merely casually usurped the function in question. In giving a present of, for instance, $10, it is as if he said to the recipient:

"See! These are the glories of my ancestors of whom I am the descendant. I have a part in their fame. To make this valid I give you from my wealth a mere trifle, a matter of no consequence to me, who am so firmly established in the path of my ancestors."

556 481 The guest receives the money with mixed feelings. On the one hand he has received $10 as a "present." But if he wishes to elevate his own position and his own prestige, together with that of his ancestors, it is incumbent on him to repay this sum with interest. Contrary to the practice among some other coastal tribes, there is no fixed rate of interest among the Bella Coola. An ambitious man who seeks to become a chief will strive to the utmost to pay back with heavy interest when he himself gives a ceremony so that his fame will be carried far and near. If he should repay only the principal, he would be regarded as having done all that was obligatory, but should he fail to do even so much, he would soon sink to a position of little consequence, no matter how lofty and distinguished his ancestral name might be.

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171 556 558 In this respect there is a parallel between the Bella Coola and ourselves. A man invited to a dinner party is not compelled to return the compliment, but if, in the course of

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time, he fails in any way to reciprocate the hospitality, he loses his place among his special associates. So, likewise, the Bella Coola who receives present after present, but fails to give any in return gradually receives smaller and smaller gifts and in time loses his social position and influence entirely. As with ourselves, too, there is a disguised feeling of contempt for the parvenu, the man who, lacking the traditional dignity attached to one of the names which came from above at the beginning of time, has elevated the fame of a more recent name by ostentatious giving. But in Bella Coola, as with ourselves, success is the great criterion, and the donor finds his influence little impaired by the lack of one of the ancient origin myths. It is dangerous to cite similarities between the social practices of divergent peoples, and this one must not be stretched too far. The pride of a man in being able to incorporate himself in the traditions of his ancestors is lacking with the host at a dinner party, nor does the latter, to any extent, attain the status of chief through his hospitality. Further, a Bella Coola will sometimes endeavour to shame the poverty of a guest by giving him a large present. Unless the recipient is willing to admit his inferiority he must repay this with a still larger gift. The original donor will then vindicate himself by increasing the value of his next gift until a fierce competition ensues. This feature of rivalry in generosity is rare in Bella Coola, and never reached the same proportions that it did among the Kwakiutl.

The following is a good instance of the manner in which a haughty man regards the acceptance of gifts. A Rivers Inlet man married a Calvert Island woman who went to live with her husband. The man's mother, to show her amiable feelings towards the marriage, frequently gave thick slices of boned spring salmon, a great delicacy, to the family of her daughter-in-law. The Calvert Island chief considered these presents an insult to him, as if the Rivers Inlet people thought that he and his people were so poverty-stricken they lived on skin and bones. To avenge this slight he made war on the Rivers Inlet Indians and slew many of them. This attitude of the Calvert

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554 or sat in two rows, facing one another, on opposite sides of the
556 central fire, parallel to the side walls of the house. When these
[773] first ancestors died, the name of each was passed on to some
[551] descendant. The Bella Coola feel that he who bears the name
[171] of the first settler in a village should have his ancestor's seat. Comparison with the practices of other coastal tribes suggests that formerly the Bella Coola must have had a definite series of seats in their houses, either according to the rank of the occupant, or according to the rank of the ancestor whose name he bore. The most careful investigation, however, failed to show such a system of ranked seating. The only indications that such may once have been customary, are found in the feeling today that the bearer of the first chief's name ought to occupy the central seat behind the fire, and in the expression, "He seats himself where his ancestor sat," when a youth is given his place in the house.

[551] A seat can be claimed and an ancestral name assumed at any age. Goods must be given away which are said to be "covering" for the young man, to have "flowed away," or to have "become nothing" for the name. These validate the official assumption of the designation. With it is given a place in the house. A seat is chosen at the side of the fire, and the goods mark that spot as his in conjunction with the name.
[424] The seat itself is not material, though the general location on which a person shall sit is indicated. His "seat" is the goods that have been expended. Several men may have positions at practically the same spot, but when all are seated they merely move slightly so that all have room. There is no thought of one person infringing on the location of another. A parent who gives ample wealth at successive potlatches may seek for his son a seat behind the fire. Such is entirely his own affair and if sufficient goods are distributed the son may seat himself in that place, but if the gifts are of little value the occupant is secretly held in derision, as having a seat that is unsound, or unfirm. In later years the man may expend large sums in strengthening his seat; by so doing he wins recognition from

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names to their dog, and had distributed presents to validate the bestowal. Consequently, the animal is a chief (see Plate 11)[3/4] and can do as he likes. When it dies it will be mourned as a chief. Moreover, a number of people have returned the presents which they received at the time the dog was made a chief, and this money is kept by the woman and her husband, to be used when they perform the rite of mourning for the dog at death.

When this is possible, in the present degenerate days, it is not difficult to understand how, formerly, a great chief felt himself above the restraints that hindered lesser men. The last great Bella Coola chief was *Potlas*, who died between 1870 and 1880. His influence and power were so great that he was a virtual ruler, daring anything. If he requested a young man to take his food box home and the youth was slow to obey, *Potlas* had no hesitation in killing him on the spot. Such great power, though unusual, is intelligible to the Bella Coola, since *Potlas* gave far more potlatches than any of his contemporaries. Other chiefs have been known to attempt a similar arbitrary use of power, but have failed, since their prestige was not great enough to justify it. The fame of a mighty chief spreads up and down the coast, and protects him and the members of his family from being ambushed and slain in any sporadic foray. During an actual fight, however, a chief had to take his chances with the rest, but the comparative immunity was a great advantage.

The Bella Coola recognize the fundamental differences between their own concepts about chieftainship and those of other coastal tribes with whom they come in contact. This point was mentioned in the course of conversation by several men. The most powerful chief known to them was *Tcubsa*, who, they say, was virtual monarch of the Kitkatla. None of his subjects could go hunting without his permission, and he had rights to a certain share of their booty. At any ceremony presents had first to be given to him, and if he were slighted in this respect, he would kill the offender. It is be-

[3/4] [See art. 116, p 46 (c) - ANALYST]

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lieved that all the Kitkatla chiefs were powerful, but *Tsibsia* was the greatest of all. It is said that one of his prerogatives[1] was to exercise *jus primae noctis* whenever a Kitkatla was married. Without question, tales of this chief's prowess have become exaggerated in transmission, none the less they show that the Bella Coola realize the great importance of the northern chiefs. Concerning their nearer neighbours, the Bella Bella, the Bella Coola understand the way in which the members of a family combine to help their chief in the giving of presents. They say that the Bella Bella consider the Bella Coola practice of each one endeavouring to make himself a chief to be foolish in the extreme. Such is also said to be the opinion among the Kwakiutl, who support their contention that in Bella Coola all are chiefs, from the fact that flooring exists under the seats of all, whereas in Fort Rupert, their home, such occurs only beneath the seats of chiefs.

Corresponding to the extreme paucity of functions possessed by Bella Coola chiefs, their prerogatives are likewise scanty. Indeed, they take their validated seats only during certain rites of the secret society connected with chiefs, at potlatches, and at ceremonial meals. These last occur whenever a deer or seal is killed; the latter is considered a great delicacy.[2] Anyone can kill a seal, but it would be unthinkable for a Bella Coola to share its flesh with his immediate family only. The animal is cleaned, the hole made by bullet or spear carefully plugged, and the carcass boiled whole in a large box. Meanwhile a herald (I, p. 244) summons the chiefs to the house where the successful hunter lives. If the meal is to consist merely of one small seal, only a few chiefs are invited, those of greatest influence through their possession of "strong" seats. When several seals have been killed, the number invited is correspondingly larger, but no woman may partake unless she ranks

[1] This is said to have been a personal prerogative, not shared by all chiefs, and requiring validation by valuable presents.

[2] Only traces of the rite described in this paragraph occur at the present time. In fact, the reservation of seal meat for chiefs alone was discontinued towards the close of the last century.

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grease have been placed in readiness. X selects as many youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names which have already been announced and validated among the Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign guests. He seats the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that these are merely representatives. X requests two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the *sisaok* name of one of the initiates.

"His name is now——" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The heralds repeat the new name with the usual badinage, so that it becomes well known to all present. In like manner the *sisaok* name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings.

Then the boxes are opened and red elderberries poured into the canoes in front of the guests. Stones are provided with which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they proceed to mix with their hands, as olachen grease and cranberries are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the feast commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the shape of beaver, eagle, or other form in which an ancestor appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to beat out an ancient song of the type known as *xe·tla*. Each of these has been handed down from the distant past; when some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself at a potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his

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earliest ancestors, and the text is commonly grandiloquently phrased.[11] Frequently the singers alter the words slightly to suit the occasion, and sometimes compose entirely new words for an old tune. As they sing, they are aided by some of X's friends who rise and stand between the fire and the front door. They occasionally wear forehead masks carved with his crest to add dignity to the rite.

After the song the chiefs continue their meal, and there is much practical joking with the heralds.

"Don't you want some food?" X calls to one of them.

Without waiting for an answer he throws a box containing the liquid pulp, inclined at such an angle that the mess is spattered over the recipient. Occasionally, a herald will succeed in catching a box without spilling the contents, but usually he is smeared from head to foot, while the spectators shriek with laughter. It is one of the functions of a herald to be a laughing stock for the visitors.

During the afternoon X's wife and the members of her family deliver to him the goods which they have amassed to "re-buy" her from her husband. These are called "washing material," as if they supplied X with wash-basin and toilet necessities. The speaker orates how the wife has lived up to her obligation in making this presentation, and how it will clear the path for her children. These goods will later on be distributed by X. They can be used for:

(1) Repayment of potlatch debts, or

(2) Making potlatch investments, or

(3) Validating names, either *sisaok* or ancestral, for the children of his relatives.

It would be most disgraceful should any of the goods be applied to validating *sisaok* names for any of X's own children, because they have come from his wife's people and react to the advantage of her children in any case. These goods are

[11] Though not to the same extent as among the Kwakiutl where the words may describe how the sky is supported on a chief's shoulders, or how he has pushed his head into the land above.

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* 552 [575] (11) Dismissal of the supernatural power possessed by the *nusok* initiates, thereby enabling them to return to normal life in the community.

* 556 578 171 All day, food is being distributed in X's house with guests in almost constant attendance. Not only are large presents of food made to any chief who has previously shown generosity to X, but he also takes this opportunity to bestow insults on anyone from whom he has received the same. Among the Bella Bella and people of Rivers Inlet guests were frequently ridiculed with respect to their habitual diet or mode of life. Unquestionably, the Bella Coola sometimes did likewise, both at potlatches and at *kusiut* rites to which strangers were invited. Although it is dangerous to dogmatize on this point, because the practice has long since fallen into disuse, it appears highly probable that mockeries were less prevalent in Bella Coola than at other places on the coast.

* 556 558 628 It is comparatively common, however, for a chief to shame a guest by a lavish disregard for valuables. News is constantly passing from town to town, so that the intended victim usually hears what is in store for him. A guest always takes valuable goods with him when he goes to a potlatch, but one who expects to be insulted takes care to have an unusually large supply. The host seats this particular visitor close to the fire, and during the afternoon or early evening he throws large quantities of grease and food upon it, to demonstrate "the warmth" and "fineness" of his house. The guest experiences physical discomfort from the extreme heat, and suffers mental pangs at having a rival boast of his power and fame. To assert his own importance he will throw goods on the fire, as if they were water to extinguish it, and the host will counter by throwing on more valuables. The contest is continued until the goods of the guest are exhausted, or the host fears to burn more lest he should not have enough left to validate the potlatch. He who has destroyed most is considered to have shown his superiority. [578] The Bella Coola state that such rivalry was unknown between chiefs of the same village.

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The following is an account of a feud which took place about 1870: 556* 558 628

The people of *Sunxl* had gone to a potlatch at *Tăl·ic* with a plentiful supply of goods, expecting to be insulted in revenge for a slight cast upon their host when visiting *Sunxl*. They were allotted places close to the fire, upon which the donor cast a large quantity of olachen grease until the intense heat almost roasted his guests. Not one of them moved; to have done so would have meant an admission that they were being made uncomfortable by their host's demonstration of wealth by this waste of valuable food. Presently, *Sunxălotla*, the leading chief of the visitors, stood up and called for "water" to douse the flames, meaning goods of equal or greater value, to indicate that he was as wealthy as his host and as little afraid of destroying valuables. His companions threw on the fire boxes filled with skins, but *Sunxălotla* desired still further to demonstrate his prowess. Hastily, he asked some of the other Bella Coola present to lend him a sea canoe (of the large type called *Haidăl*), promising to repay with two of the same kind. The Bella Coola agreed and the craft was carried in, the bearers showing their disregard for the host by breaking his door as they did so. The canoe was thrown on the fire and the flames mounted. *Sunxălotla* called upon his *Tăl·ic* rival to douse that fire. The latter was afraid to do so, being aware that he had barely enough goods to pay his debts at the coming distribution. Accordingly, he tacitly acknowledged the superiority of *Sunxălotla*, who thus rose in public esteem. [501]

It is very difficult to discover just how often such destruction of goods took place. The Bella Coola realize that the prevalence of this practice among the Kwakiutl led to the potlatch being forbidden by law, and are reticent on the subject. Reliable informants agree that it was a fairly common custom in the early days, although it never went to the extremes prevailing at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay, where, too, was common the breaking of coppers in anger, an act unknown in Bella Coola. In other respects, also, the potlatch among the Bella Coola appears to be less important and less complicated in ritual than among the Kwakiutl, so it is highly probable that the above statement is correct. 556* 558 171

Another method of shaming a guest is to serve him, or any member of his party, so clumsily or gracelessly with food that it is spattered over him. In some cases this happens acci- 558 556*

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426 sufficient goods, though every man is understood to be master
* 556 of his own affairs.

After paying his debts X still has many heavy expenses in connection with the *sisaok* initiates, and the young people for whom he is obtaining seats. Goods for these purposes have been put on one side. The remainder he now proceeds to give away as investment presents. His exhibition of ancestral prerogatives, and the guise in which his ancestors are now living, as eagle, raven, whale, or such like, have been duly validated by the presents given on the preceding evening, and his social status has been cared for by the payments to his craftsmen and other creditors. Thus investment presents are not essential, though a man always endeavours to give them, both for economic and social reasons. There are no definite laws regarding their distribution. X is guided in his choice of recipients[19] by the following considerations:

(1) If a certain chief is likely to give a potlatch soon he knows that a present given him will be returned with interest.

(2) He desires to give something to a chief from whom he has often received favours.

(3) He wishes to ingratiate himself with a powerful chief by presents.

426 (4) He wishes to give presents to a chief with whom he is
* 556 not on friendly terms. Unless the latter reciprocates, it will be considered that X has shown his superiority.

558 (5) Usually an important chief will receive more valuable presents than one of lesser rank. This custom is not governed by any fixed scale, and an important chief may be deliberately slighted, if X thinks that he has not shown him, X, sufficient respect.

It is considered the height of folly to give presents without due regard to their return.

The amount of gifts depends entirely on the wealth and desires of X. If he wishes to increase his fame, he will endea-

[19] Only one present is given to each man, irrespective of the number of names he may have. The Kwakiutl are said to give a gift for each designation.

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with the objects back on the fire. In some cases four sets of cloths are used. This rite, which is regarded as very important, frees the lads from the supernatural powers with which they have been endowed, and permits them finally to leave the back-room and return to normal life, just as their earlier cleansing freed them from the *tutwinam*. During their period of seclusion no initiate can perform a *kusiut* ceremony of any kind. The supernatural beings of the two societies, though closely akin, are yet independent, and it would be unthinkable for a man to enter into contact with the two at the same time, unless he should be the owner of a rare prerogative enabling him to do so. Only a few men have the right, which undoubtedly was derived either from the Bella Bella or the people of Rivers Inlet.

X pays the functioning *siki* with new clothing. This completes the whole ceremony. The guests either return home or adjourn to some other house where a potlatch is taking place, but no rites mark their departure.

Such, then, are the principal features of the Bella Coola potlatch. Without making a careful comparison of its features with those of neighbouring tribes, the following points stand out with great clearness:

(1) The basic concepts of the potlatch in Bella Coola are the same as those of the rite practised elsewhere on the coast.

(2) A potlatch has not the same importance at Bella Coola as it has on other parts of the coast, especially among the Kwakiutl. All informants stated repeatedly that they did not carry their potlatches to the same lengths as did the "foolish" Kwakiutl, nor were they as keen financiers. A Bella Coola would never entirely impoverish himself by lavish giving.

(3) The potlatch, though fundamentally the same as it is elsewhere on the coast, has certain rites characteristic of the locality. The central Bella Coola feature, the return of a dead ancestor, is not equally important elsewhere. It would be interesting to be able to trace the history of this. The most

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probable conjecture, and it is impossible to make more than a conjecture, is that it is a concept which has developed among the Bella Coola in association with their specialized theology and has been incorporated into the potlatch complex. On the other hand, the return of the dead may be an old feature, decayed in other tribes through the ever-increasing economic aspects of the potlatch, which are of less import in Bella Coola. Whether or not *Mulakila* is of Bella Coola origin is questionable; he may be merely an altered form of a supernatural being found among other coastal tribes.

(4) The potlatch concept, that is, the necessity of distributing presents to validate every transaction, and to establish a man's status, is an old custom. The whole trend of Bella Coola thought supports this view, and it is to be expected from the prevalence of the same idea among other coastal tribes.

Unquestionably, the introduction of white men's tools has made it easier to give a potlatch. In the old days, as informants reiterated again and again, it was a matter of years to save up the essential skins and goods, so that a potlatch was a rare event. Now a man is able to work in a cannery for a single season and earn enough for an elaborate ceremony. Accordingly, most of the old names have been duly validated, whereas long ago some of them might have lain dormant for generations. The descendants of old, influential families smile ruefully:

"Now everyone is a chief," they say.

It appears that the facility for giving potlatches has increased the feature of the destruction of goods, in fact that this is little more than an excrescence on the ancient ritual. Thus it may be said that the coming of the white man has facilitated the giving of potlatches, has somewhat changed their form, but has not altered their concept.

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Totem-Poles

A feature embodied in many ancestral myths is a description of the totem-pole[1] erected by a group of the first people, either according to a design given them by *Älquntäm*, or in consequence of their experiences on this earth. It is the privilege of a chief descended from that group to erect such a pole, under the same restrictions as apply to the portrayal and use of other features belonging, not to him individually, but to the ancestral family as a whole. Totem-poles are also frequently erected to depict incidents connected with the ancestors of a chief, even if there is no mention of one in his ancestral myth. In either case, the setting-up is a source of pride to the chief; especially as it emphasizes the importance of his ancestors, and its display must be duly validated. Theoretically, this may be done at a gathering of less importance than a potlatch, but in practice it occurs at no other ceremony, since a chief wealthy enough to erect a pole naturally desires it to be seen by as many persons as possible.

Poverty limits the number of totem-poles, but is not sufficient to account for their relative rarity. It is a matter of pride for a chief in whose ancestral myth there is mention of a pole to erect one, but all myths do not include totem-poles. Consequently the absence of one before the door of the chief's house is not proof of the owner's poverty or lack of importance. This matter was investigated with great care, and all the older people reiterated that the number and size of their poles were never as great as among the northern tribes.

When a chief is preparing for a potlatch, he allots, among other carpentry tasks, the construction of a totem-pole, if he is sufficiently wealthy to reward the artisan and to validate the erection in the customary manner. If a special design is embodied in the ancestral myth containing the name which he is about to assume, or to make strong, he indicates that design to the carpenter. In the story of *Älkwi* (I, p. 312), for

[1] *Ăxaiätl*, "Outside Post."

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211 in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at
*556 the front door of the house with an opening at its base through
778 which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be solid
532 and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in
either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral
[184] myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral cloaks by means of paintings on the front wall of his house, or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he validates these by presents, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though
[171] it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is unlikely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at
[764] all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

Coppers

*556 The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: casting
[769] on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make bone for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

[177] Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made
[439]

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village at some ceremony, exactly as a child's name is conferred. Designations are chosen with respect to the appearance of the copper, or some incident connected with its history. Such a designation is *Qwaixwos*, "Begrimed," applied to a copper thrown many times into the fire. If, for instance, $50 be expended for a name, the value of a $30 copper is henceforth $80.

(3) *By Making Gifts.* The owner of a copper can increase its value by calling together the other chiefs of his village, and sometimes of adjacent ones as well. After the customary meal, the owner expounds the history of his possession, giving details of its value. Then he passes it to one of his guests, who, unless he wishes to insult his host, must hold it upright, that is, with the broad end uppermost. The owner gives it in turn to each of his guests. To validate the display, the owner must bestow gifts on all present, and the total value of these is added to the value of the copper. Such gifts are not strictly returnable, although it is customary for chiefs to show their generosity and prowess to their fellows by a later repayment with interest.

By these means the original purchaser of a worthless copper can increase its value to such a point that it can be used at a potlatch. There is no established custom about this. Coppers are not as valuable in Bella Coola as, for instance, at Fort Rupert, and it is unlikely that any are ever worth more than $300, and the average value is probably between $150 and $200. Considerable time is required to raise the value of a copper to this sum and the owner in many cases finds that he has all the other requirements before his copper is ready for use. In that case, he tries to buy another which has been raised to sufficient worth by its owner. Everyone knows the values of the different coppers in the community, and the intending purchaser calls his fellow-chiefs to his house and offers to buy one valued, for example, at $150. If the owner consents to sell, he usually endeavours to get as much as possible, perhaps $175. The sum is publicly paid and is henceforth the value of the copper, which is transmitted to the new

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435 owner with a statement of its history and the amount expended
437 on it. The purchase of a copper is, therefore, a good business
*556 transaction, and it might be assumed that a chief with keen
commercial instinct would endeavour to acquire as many as
[171] possible. This is said to be the case in Fort Rupert, but in
[183] Bella Coola public opinion is averse to the obtaining of coppers
unless for use at potlatches. As every ambitious chief hopes
to give potlatches, he can always claim that the acquisition of
a copper is for this end, and that the sale of it is from a kindly
desire to assist a fellow-chief who is nearer the desired goal
than he himself. Consequently, the sale of coppers is tolerably
common, and a chief is not considered to be mercenary unless
he sells too frequently.

426 The intending donor of a potlatch can now proceed to the
*556 ceremony, secure in the possession of a copper worthy to be
thrown on the fire after the passage of his deceased relative.
In addition, he may own another copper of too small value for
this purpose. As described in the last chapter, he repeatedly
calls together the inhabitants of his own village to rites which
he validates by the distribution of presents, and at which he
also gives away investment presents. He may decide to use
his second copper for this purpose. All investment presents,
[558] which are given only to men of standing in the community,
must be repaid with interest unless the recipient is willing to
decline in popular estimation; but when a gift of this kind
consists of a copper, a return of 100 per cent is expected on the
transaction. Bestowal of a copper in such circumstances is not
spoken of as an investment present, *kɔ̈lämkusnäm*, but as
änuxop', which has the definite significance of something that
must be returned with 100 per cent interest. If the value of
the copper were $25 before this bestowal, it is now $50, since
the new owner must repay this amount to the chief planning
to give the potlatch. The new owner can use the copper in
any way he desires; if he repays a previous indebtedness, he
cancels $50 by giving it; whereas if he bestows it as *änuxop'*,
announcement is made that its value is $50, and he expects to

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dropped. *Kwa'hila'yakw* is held by a Fort Rupert chief. Several *haxus* names, with dances, were obtained from *Tcitcadzid* where the travellers saw them being performed; among them were *Anadzkinuts* and *Dadzepas*, which are now used by two Bella Coola women. *Alkuntlo* is now a Cannibal (II, p. 71) name. *At Tsi'is Ai'mdzuts* gave a *haxus* dance, and with his own power made there a repository as if he had brought it with him from *Tcitcadzid*. This was only possible because of his supernatural power as one of the first people, strengthened by his becoming a shaman through seeing *Tcitcadzid*.

SECOND ORIGIN MYTH OF *Tsi'is*[a]

In the beginning, there came down to the Skeena River,[b] *Nanqipa*, *Nuxemda*, *Wiaqeit*, and their younger sister *Nadzumaxkila*; they brought from *Alqaxtsa* some of the large cone-shaped whistles used for ritual ceremonials.[c] The three travelled all over the coast seeking a place in which to settle, and always the whistles kept calling out of their own accord, giving advice. Finally they decided to locate at *Tsi'is*, the head of South Bentinck Arm.

When they had lived there for some time, the neighbours objected to the din of the whistles, which drove away olachen and herring, so *Nuxemda* built a high, narrow mound of refuse, on the tip of which he constructed his house. The building was peculiar; its door opened horizontally and used to close with a crash when anyone entered. On either side of the hill there lived a *smnq*, whose keen ears could hear the wailing of an infant at any distance. In those ancient days, these beasts were like dogs and did not annoy mortals; they were servants to *Nuxemda*. One day he learnt that a raiding-party was approaching, but instead of being afraid he instructed the *smnq* to use their power when it drew near. When the hostile canoes came in sight the two creatures reversed their eyeballs, causing a blinding flash which stunned the occupants of the canoes. After a little they recovered consciousness and again came on, but again the *smnq* reversed their eyeballs with a like result. When this had happened several times the raiders withdrew discouraged.

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[a]Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

[b]It is not uncommon for the Skeena to figure as the place where some of the first people came to earth; but few descended nearer to Bella Coola than that region.

[c]This prerogative is less common among the Bella Coola than the Bella Bella.

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leaving *Nuxmit a, Hamet* had asked *Alpentin* what they should do for a place to live and the deity had promised to provide them with one. The first night the brothers slept in the open, but the next morning they found a house completed for them on the shore of the fiord; it was of the semi-subterranean type with a central pit for the fire, surrounded by stagings. *Alpentin* had made it peculiar in several respects. When the tide rose, water was forced up through passages in the rock so that it burst within the dwelling in miniature waterspouts. The upright posts were carved in representations of Thunder, and the paintings on the back wall were of *Snang*. Echo was there, invisible as usual, but repeating everyone's speech, while around the floor ran countless mice. The name of the house was *Nawagwaik*, "Where Water Enters."

After a time, when the people had increased on the earth, *Hamet* invited the chiefs, there were none other then, for a potlatch. The guests saw the wonders of the house and marvelled.

Three times *Hamet* did this, but when he, or a descendant, attempted to do so for the fourth time, the supernatural power which had been present at the first potlatch had vanished; no carpenters were called upon to reproduce the original features. The painting of *Snang* and the carving of Thunder presented no difficulties, though the latter was transferred from the house to the totem-pole without. Masks were made to represent the spouting water and manufactured mice ran on the floor by means

the carpenters are called upon to make realistic replicas, a form of dramatization responsible for features of potlatches not only among the Bella Coola but also, it is said, of the Bella Bella, Kitlobe, and the Tsimshian peoples.

ORIGIN MYTH OF AN UNIDENTIFIED TOWN[17]

In the beginning of time the supreme god sent down two brothers, *Watkis* and *Kwatsuslus*, to Mount *Wa-put*, some thirty miles up the Bella Coola River not far from *Stuie*. They looked around, not knowing which way to go or what to do. Glancing down they saw smoke arising; it was from *Alkwi*'s fire, but this they did not know, because there were few people in the land, and no one knew anything about his neighbours. *Kwatsuslus* travelled a short distance upstream until he heard the sound of beating, which puzzled him, so he advanced slowly until he saw a house, to the roof of which he cautiously climbed and looked down inside. Many people had assembled there; they were land-otters giving a dance,

[17]Related by Judas, an old man suffering from senile decay. It is unquestionably a fragment of a longer myth.

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843 be avoided. If she walks on a beaver dam, or dips her head
825 into a pool made by this animal, the birth of her infant will be blocked in the same way that the dam restrains a stream. This difficulty can be obviated, however, by dipping up the water with her hands instead of bending her head to the surface to drink. As far as possible, she must avoid being startled by
[774] small animals or reptiles; even if the excitement so caused is too slight to expel her own spirit, it may be sufficient to damage that of the foetus. Such dangers can be countered by means of magical rites (I, p. 730). Her husband is also subject to certain injunctions and prohibitions. If he eats beaver meat his wife's delivery will be difficult. He must preserve a small piece of the skin or an eye of every animal that he kills; a few
[842] days after birth the child is steeped in the smoke of a fire on which these articles have been thrown. This prevents injury from the father's quarry.[1]

A pregnant woman continues to reside in her own house, where her condition is a source of interest to her friends and relatives. There are no midwives with inheritable professional
844 prerogatives, but as the time for delivery draws near, arrange-
[424] ments are made for the mother or some other experienced female relative to be in attendance. It is quite proper for the husband to attend to this point, though it is customary for elderly female relations to do so, sometimes those of the wife, sometimes those of her husband. A woman who, having herself borne children, has assisted at many births with success, is often requested to be present, and it is taken as a matter of course that she will be rewarded for her services.

When the pains of labour begin, the patient leaves the house with her assistant or assistants. In summer the party goes to some lonely spot in the woods where a rude wind-break may have been erected; in winter, to a sheltered spot beneath a
● [171] house. No man can be present, a point in which the Bella Coola state that their culture differs from that of the Kwakiutl. The midwife manipulates the infant so that the birth is made

[1] This rite is described in detail later (I, p. 720).

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581 Confidently believing that he has descended from ancestors
[858] who came to this earth in the beginning of time, a Bella Coola wishes to have his children firmly established in the path of his forbears. This can be accomplished only with the aid of a suitable mother. It follows that marriage is not primarily a matter of affection, but of the ancestral eligibility of the contracting parties.

CHOICE OF MATE

584 Since the initiative for marriage is taken by the man in
581 almost all cases, it will be convenient and proper to describe the factors which enter into the search for a wife, remembering that the converse govern the decision of the woman and her relatives. The choice of the woman who is to be the mother of the children who will carry on the traditions of the ancestral family is a matter of too great importance to be entrusted to any young person. Accordingly, while their son is yet a child, his parents often discuss who would be a suitable wife for him. They view the matter from a strictly business standpoint.
581 Proud of their own ancient lineage, they would not demean themselves by allowing their son to marry a girl who could not trace her ancestry back to the first people, or with one whose forbears had disgraced themselves by marriage with slaves. Instead, it is a matter of pride for parents to have as daughter-in-law the child of a powerful chief. Nor can they choose a
582 woman too closely related to their son. Marriage with a sister, an aunt, a niece, or any first cousin is strictly prohibited. No reason for these laws could be obtained; the Bella Coola consider that it would be "indecent" or unclean so to marry, but have theorized no further about the matter. An adopted child
[597] is regarded in the same light as an own child. The Bella Coola
829 know, and are amused by, the regulation of marriage according
[171] to crests among the northern tribes, but practise nothing of the same nature themselves. In fact, marriages usually take place among those who are descended from one ancestor and who have, accordingly, the same crest, though the significance

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of the term is very different from its use among the northern tribes.

Having eliminated those girls who are too closely related, or who are unsuited on account of the poverty of their parents, the father and mother can concentrate on others of about the same age as their son. The most desirable is a member of the ancestral family of one of the parents. This obviates the dangers and difficulties of marriage with a stranger, and any children will be born into the close-knit circle of related ancestors stretching back to the beginning of time. They consider that such a child is fortunate, as if he were held close in the spiritual embrace of his powerful forefathers of antiquity. Each ancestral family is jealously proud of its ancient traditions and prerogatives, and as some of these are transmitted at marriage, it follows that a mating within its ranks is desirable from a business standpoint. Moreover, it is remembered that the husband obtains more presents than the wife at the wedding and that her relatives are more likely to be generous when their son-in-law is one to whom they are related. Indeed, some ancestral families are so "stingy," (to use the Bella Coola expression), that for generations they have habitually married endogamously. In such cases it is not unknown for the children of first cousins to marry, though this is usually regarded as not quite proper. The most common marriages are between the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of first cousins, or between the child and grandchild of a first cousin when of suitable age. According to mythology, unions have sometimes taken place between brother and sister in order to preserve the traditions within the family, and it appears highly probable that marriages have occasionally occurred between first cousins, although no specific instances of this could be learned. As long as the laws against incest are obeyed, any girl of appropriate age who is addressed as *namas* (I, p. 115) is a fit partner. Since ancestral families have usually become localized in certain villages, there is a strong leaning to local endogamy, though this is not compulsory. The restrictions

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to a guest was regarded as amusing. In recent years, however, some husbands have made a practice of renting their wives to white men. This is not considered creditable, but the Bella Coola do not strongly condemn breaches of the moral code, which are regarded as the affair of the husband alone. There is said to be a Bella Bella custom by which a wife takes as recognized paramour one of the friends of her husband who is thought not only to know of this but to receive the presents which the lover gives his wife. The two continue to be friends and often hunt together; in fact, their mutual interest in the woman is a bond between them. No trace of this practice could be found in Bella Coola.

POLYGAMY

It has thus far been assumed that the Bella Coola are monogamous, an assumption correct only since the period of white dominance. Previous to that time it was quite common for wealthy men to have three, four, or more wives. *Putlu*, the important chief so often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven, the exact number is not known. A man wishing to take a second wife could do so in the manner already described, although the period of engagement was usually much shorter, and working for his parents-in-law was not expected. The reason for this was obvious to the Bella Coola. None but a chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and such as one could not be expected to demean himself by working for anyone else. Besides, parents were glad to have their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly omitted the customary period of servitude. Few resented the distinction of having several wives. As far as could be learned, the number of the sexes seems always to have been about equal, in itself a check to polygyny in a community where practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygyny was made possible only through the surplus of women thus caused. The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had

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messengers may be marked with the same ritual as at a potlatch, but there is always curtailment of *noted* features if rites of that nature are to be omitted.

Meanwhile other preparations have not been neglected. Among the prerogatives embodied in many origin myths, is that of the presence of professional mourners at memorial potlatches. If mention of these is made in the ancient tradition of the donor's ancestral family, it is a matter of pride for him to do as was done by his ancestors in the distant past. For example, it may be recorded that at the memorial potlatch of some ancient chief, a number of his younger relatives appeared with red paint smeared upon their faces, with finely chopped undyed cedar-bark in the hair, or with bands of the same material across their heads. *Alpoxtaw* had decreed that they should thus exhibit their grief, and the descendants of the chief have since had the privilege of doing likewise. Such signs of mourning may not, however, be worn without proper validation. It is only the members of the ancestral family who are entitled to don these marks, and among them, only those whose right has been confirmed by the distribution of presents. This is a masculine professional prerogative, known by the same name as the feminine one of uttering a droning cry to which it is closely akin. The right is retified at memorial potlatches, and the donor of one is glad to do so as a means of displaying his own wealth as well as of making plain the glory of his ancestors to whom the one being commemorated has returned. There is no mention of professional mourners in the myths of many families, nor are they ever so important in Bella Coola as among the Bella Bella and other tribes of the outer coast. If such belong to the family of the donor, he notifies the incumbents and asks them to be ready, although, eager to act, they seldom wait for such an invitation.

The most difficult task is the preparation of mourning songs at which the singers toil for several weeks. The donor first invites them to his house and recounts the myths from which they must be composed. These may include several traditions

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754 756 gratification of killing their enemies. To achieve this end, a member of the family claims to be a shaman and his relatives loudly acclaim him. It is not difficult for a man with skill in conjuring to perform some simple dramatic act, probably one carried out by an ancient shaman, which he announces has been shown to him by a supernatural being who has given him power to cure the sick. Then the sorcerer selects a suitable victim and causes him to become ill by placing something taken from him in contact with his medicine. If the malefactor is fortunate, the victim will consult the "shaman" who will effect a cure and be paid for it, ignorant of the fact that his recovery has been due to the removal of the article by the practitioner's accomplice. This deception is especially difficult to expose if the sorcerer has a box containing grease boiled from human bodies, since the sickness increases or diminishes accordingly to the depth to which the article is sunk. This is one of the ways in which some shamans have built up great reputations as curers.

The psychology of sorcery is similar to that of other kinds of magic. It is not possible for the malefactor to tell his victim that he has stolen a nail paring, for example, and that he will die because it has been placed in a decoction of human grease. But if the attending shaman is an accomplice, he can inform the sufferer that his malady has been caused by a sorcerer and this belief profoundly affects him. He feels that he will die unless a remedy be found, and if the shaman assures him that he has rendered the evil influence impotent, his chances of recovery are increased accordingly. So, likewise, the members of families who possess remedies against the activities of sorcerers often work in conjunction with one. It is therefore not surprising that the Bella Coola should firmly believe in their machinations and affirm that they have killed many thousands of people in the course of generations. The belief in magic would itself be sufficient to explain this, but it is strengthened by the social and economic aspects of a sorcerer's vocation. The container in which the poison mixture is kept

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is spoken of in the Chinook jargon as a *mesatche box*, that is, a "dirty," "unclean," or "repulsive" box, and this term is one which is mentioned whenever an unexpected death takes place, or whenever a coastal Indian is accused of loitering around a deserted camp or of stealing into another's house. The belief is not limited to the Bella Coola, but has formed the basis for criminal cases all over the coast of British Columbia. It is difficult to find words sufficiently strong to express the disgust, loathing, and fear with which the Bella Coola regard a person suspected of sorcery.

Ability in this respect carries with it certain prohibitions. A sorcerer would lose his power if he should wash or blow his nose except when about to commit murder. The one old Bella Coola now thought to be a sorcerer never washes; he knows that if he did so, he would be immediately accused of plotting someone's death. This man is greatly feared, as he is said to have a collection of spittle from every member of the tribe; efforts have been made to break into his house and steal this, but it has never been found. He takes credit for the death of at least one white man in the valley. A peculiar impediment suffered by all sorcerers is a prohibition against turning around, although no one knows why doing so should deprive them of their strength. The explanation may be that their power would recoil upon themselves, a concept well illustrated by the following incident:

When the first Christian Bella Coola left the old village to settle near the mission station, they were regarded with dislike and suspicion by their fellow-villagers. One day, one of them happened to follow a path through the woods which led her to a rude shelter in which was a bundle. Hastily summoning her fellows, they opened it and found an article of clothing belonging to each Christian. The man who told this incident described his fear on finding a dirty shirt of his own among the others. They felt that the garments had been collected by a young man who claimed to be a shaman, but whom they suspected to be merely the accomplice of a sorcerer, and this was soon proved to be the case. He was insufficiently trained; instead of touching the patient's body with his stick, he used to suck wherever the pain was located and then

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doings, and offered to make them members of the *kusiut* society in return for their silence. Though uninitiated persons, even this tempting bribe was refused by the two youths. Next, each of the malefactors offered a daughter as wife to each of the partners, and they accepted this bargain. For their part, the sorcerers were glad to escape at any cost, since they had been caught red-handed; they knew that henceforth they would have to assist their captors, but this was preferable to exposure. 539 754

The two groups parted company; the boys continued their journey to the upper village and the sorcerers went on their way to some cave in the mountains. Within a few weeks, each youth married the daughter of one of the malefactors, with whose assistance they were able to give potlatches and become influential personages.

A FAMILY OF KWATNA SORCERERS

Near the village of Kwatna there used to be two cemeteries. One was on a small point of ground at the mouth of the river which became an island at high tide; here were interred the bodies of chiefs alone, a custom said to be without parallel on the coast. It is not known why there should have been this special burial-ground, but the place was always spoken of as "The Chiefs' Island." Instead of being buried, coffins containing commoners were laid on ledges of rock at the base of a cliff behind the village; this custom, though unusual, is known elsewhere on the coast, at Kimsquit and Port Simpson, for example. [764] [171]

Many generations ago, there was a time when the corpses of commoners frequently disappeared from the ledges on which they had been placed, and although it was believed that a sorcerer was responsible, no one knew whom to blame. One old woman had lost nearly all her numerous relatives when she realized that, though there had been many deaths in the village and some families had been almost wiped out, no members of one group had been taken. This roused her suspicions; she soon noticed that whenever anyone was sick, four brothers of the family in question always made some plausible excuse to leave the village and proceed up the other arm of the inlet. She concluded that this could be no mere coincidence, the four must be sorcerers. Within a short while, another of her relatives fell ill and died in spite of all that could be done; this reduced her family to herself and her infant. On the day after the funeral, the four brothers said that they wanted to gather hemlock boughs and set off in a canoe up the other arm of the inlet for the purpose. They did not come back at night and the villagers assumed that they had been delayed and had camped. The bereaved woman, however, who had hidden herself below the village, saw the brothers paddle back around the

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phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe.

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange the catamenia and cause profuse growth of hair.

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery.

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat toasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which held it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded.

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground.

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola.

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness.

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the men remove only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over-

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not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to be noted, *kusiut* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated. The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 2). The large, cone-shaped form used in *suaok* ceremonial is replaced in *kusiut* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows consisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any *kusiut* can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to anyone for use in a ceremony.

In some dances special objects are used in connection with dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden representations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One old man described a pipe formerly used at *Tăl'io*, which had a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems. It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a beech bole. Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was supposed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his patron and displayed through pride.

The usual guests at a performance of the type just summarized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire of the *kukusiut* to impress their uninitiated tribesmen, they are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence of Carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

[See category 116, p 84(B) - ANALYST]

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*575 sively when the villages in which the dances are taking place
203 are adjacent or separated by such a short distance that envoys cannot meet *en route*.

*575 A word may be said about the attitude of the Bella Coola
177 to the dances of other coastal tribes. They know that the
829 Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, Kwakiutl, and Kitkatla people have
[148] *kusiut* societies, but until recently their members were considered to be uninitiated, as Bella Coola were when they visited foreign tribes.[1] A few years ago the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet people decided that their rites were sufficiently akin to permit membership in one tribe to carry with it membership in the others:

"We have now one repository," they say.

This development is due to ease of communication and diminution of population in the three tribes. None the less, the Bella Coola recognize differences between their own rites and those of their neighbours. They say that no other tribe
[171] has repositories; also that in the other tribes the *kusiut* society is more intimately connected with the chiefs, in fact, that in Bella Bella and Fort Rupert the Cannibals are the chiefs, whereas in Bella Coola even a poor man, uninfluential in every other respect, can be one.

*575 Theorization is out of place in a descriptive monograph
177 such as this, but the writer gives it as his personal opinion that
[796] the Bella Coola have adopted much, if not all, of the *kusiut* ceremonial from other coastal tribes, though they have profoundly altered it in respect to certain ancient beliefs connected with localized guardian spirits and the patrons of ancestral families. He further believes that it will be found that this Bella Coola technique has in its turn affected the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet Indians. There seems little doubt that the
[171] Bella Coola are correct in saying that the society is more im-
[796] portant among them than among their neighbours, and the writer feels that dances and rituals of different types have certainly been adapted to the *kusiut* pattern of the Bella Coola.

[1] Except a few individuals who had adopted foreign prerogatives.

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[The Dance of NeaLxnim]

arms being brought into play, so that the whole hands are constantly quivering without spasmodic movements. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a skilful performer, and the incessant shaking is continued without stop throughout the dance. Most *kusiut* songs are in five parts, which may be described as three verses, separated by two choruses. Near the beginning of the first verse X stands up, raises his arms, shakes his fingers, then slightly bends his legs and begins to step in time to the beating of the sticks. Some dancers remain almost stationary, marking time, to use the military term, others advance in steps of an inch or so, at intervals slowly revolving sunwise.[18] Sometimes X introduces a variation by bending from side to side, in which case one hand rises above the other. If the time of the song is very slow, he sinks, bending his knees to a great extent, and advances in more lengthy strides, never ceasing to shake his hands. At each chorus the time becomes so rapid that it is impossible to move the feet in accordance with it, and then X crouches, his shaking hands the only movement. If it is a woman who is dancing—like most *kusiut* prerogatives, this one is not limited to men—the style of dancing is quite different. Keeping the upper part of each arm close to her body, the dancer extends her fore-arms, outwards, parallel to the ground, with the palms upwards. Like a man, she shakes her wrists, but few female dancers move from the spot on which they start, except perhaps to turn around, sunwise. Heralds always keep up a running fire of comments, especially when a woman is dancing, urging her not to be bashful, but to allow her breasts to shake. Some dancers have merged into one prerogative rights acquired from different coastal tribes. In such cases they perform in two or more styles, each part according to one prerogative.

Kusiut are always ready to assist one of their fellows, so that three or four friends are always willing to accompany the dancer. They stand close behind him, at frequent intervals blowing over his head the eagle down which either X, or some

[18] The Bella Coola state that the Bella Bella revolve counter-sunwise.

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[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

of his relatives, has given them for this purpose. When he crouches during the chorus they crowd close around, almost concealing him. Particularly in those dances fraught with danger to the performer, it is customary for any number of his friends, either men or women, to dance to "help" him. Anyone wishing to do so merely stands up and begins, in time to the music, irrespective of what part of the house he may be in. It is considered contrary to good manners for a father so to help his son, or a brother a brother, but a dancer is pleased to have aid from anyone else. It is said that in Bella Bella certain *kukusiut* have definite prerogatives of helping in this way, but this is not the case in Bella Coola. Throughout every dance the *kukusiut* women utter their droning cry.

This, then, is the type of dance which the uninitiated in the lowest house see. They hear the song, too, and gaze with awe at X, imbued as he is with the supernatural power of sight. Then the sounding-boards are picked up and taken to the next house, where the whole ceremonial is repeated. This is done at each house of the village.[11] All the *kukusiut* now return to X's house, where he once more dances to his song. A box-drum is always used to help the singers in keeping time, and when the song has been finished two men continue in turn to beat it all day. X always arranges to have a relative or friend superintend the distribution of food, which follows his final dancing. As the *kukusiut* are eating, the marshals deliver their usual admonishments, a task that accompanies every meal. Then they call on the people to erect a raised platform between the fire and the back-wall of the house. Materials have been placed in readiness so that it is an easy matter to build a framework a few feet in height, of which the flat top is screened by a matting wall about three feet high. This is often decorated with designs of dyed cedar-bark without ritual significance as far as the Bella Coola of today are aware. X climbs to this platform, the *kukusiut* disperse, and only the incessant pounding of the drum proves that some unusual event is taking place.

[11] In Bella Coola, but perhaps not in Kimsquit.

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pelled; a Cannibal (II, p. 71) begins to growl and those who are not members of the society leave hastily.

The next event is the burning of the masks. The wearers remove them and lay them on the floor in front of the back-room at the point marked O in the accompanying sketch. Then X asks a friend to help him. The person chosen picks up any two of the masks and carries them around the fire, sunwise, through B, where X is standing, to the point marked A (see Fig. 1). The helper throws one mask on the fire, and as he does so X lifts his arms, as if throwing up some heavy weight, at the same time uttering *hoip̣*, which has a beneficial effect in returning the mask whence it came.

FIG. 1.
Diagram showing positions of participants during mask-burning.

As one informant put it: "May you have a safe journey."

The assistant throws the second mask on the fire, and again X throws up his arms and cries *hoip̣*. He crosses to A where he twice repeats the same cry, then returns to B. The assistant picks up two more masks and throws them on the fire at the same place and in the same manner as the two preceding, X also doing as he did before. The masks are taken two at a time until all have been burnt. The explanation given is to avoid the danger of the uninitiated seeing them, but whether or not this is a mere rationalization is doubtful. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella do not burn their masks. Next the singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while musicians and audience join in; this is repeated for each of his songs. If it is desired to hasten the ritual, the lengthy singing and dancing is replaced by X giving only a short dance, unaccompanied by music. The Bella Coola do not appear to understand why they dance at this time, although it is said that it makes easy the departure of the masks.

In Kimsquit the ritual of mask-burning is slightly different,

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[The Dance of Wil·a]

About dusk on the following day X, who is in his own house, suddenly stands up and cries out:

"Yes. It has come. I am afraid. Yes! I will do as you bid me."

The *kukusiut* women begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Heralds announce that a *kusiut* has been pressed to earth, and presently they go to every house inviting the *kukusiut* to gather in X's. From this point on, the rite of *Isuxtämem* continues in the manner already described.

The ability of X to summon these nine brothers from above is a special prerogative; other *kukusiut* have one or other of them as patron, but lack the power to call the whole number to earth. One *kusiut* has exclusive knowledge of the mat which is spread for *Omqomkilska* when the other supernatural beings summon him to a ceremony; another of the place where the brethren obtain their eagle down. Detailed information was not obtained about these ceremonies.

THE CANNIBAL DANCE

Of all *kusiut* dances, the one of which the uninitiated are most afraid, and which is, therefore, the strongest, is the Cannibal dance. It is believed that the performer is exposed to greater dangers than in any other rite, and observers have the most spectacular ocular demonstrations of his powers. The patrons of most Cannibals are *Älquntäm*, *Sxsexkälaix*, or *Kämai·ts*, who implant in their protégés a wolf, bear, or eagle, causing them to devour strange foods. The Bella Coola consider that a man is equally a Cannibal whether he has the prerogative of eating corpses, biting the living, eating dogs or raw salmon, or biting himself. The most common of these is the right to bite the living, and few of the older people are not scarred thereby. Fear of Cannibals is one of the strongest causes for the respect with which the uninitiated regard the *kusiut* society, but though the holders of prerogatives of this type are regarded with awe on account of their powers, they are not considered as chiefs, as the Bella Coola say is the case

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[The Cannibal Dance]

among the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people. Indeed, in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most dreaded Cannibal of all, if he has been able duly to validate and perform his right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out with the same rigour in Bella Coola as among the tribes of the outer coast.

The ritual of different prerogatives varies to such an extent that several accounts must be given, in spite of the repetitions that this form of presentation entails. On account of the length of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins early in the season. The following describes the manner in which *Kämätslaks* of Kimsquit, who can bite the living, carried out his rite; it was obtained from his brother, who is thoroughly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to refer to *Kämätslaks* as X, and to use the present tense throughout.

A meeting is held at which the marshals and others choose, in agreement with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him to commence his performance. Under normal circumstances it is on some *qothm* that a marshal announces that he can hear X's call, and on the following evening, when the ritual has been completed, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous whistling from the slopes of the mountains near the village. The instruments used are of the usual bladder type, but the long-drawn-out sound, termed *Aiilâxa*, is said to be the voice of the kindly supernatural woman, *Snitsmân-a*.[1]

[1] The sole function of this being seems to be the restoring to life of those who appear to have been killed in the performance of *hamat* rites. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether or not she is identical with *Hâmtsêtsa-a*. The noise which heralds her coming is produced by the whistles of four *hahamat* who throughout the night range the forests and mountains within ear-shot of the village. By bending their heads up and down, they are able to increase the weirdness and apparent elusiveness of the sound. The four travel in single file; the leader blows, and when his breath is nearly exhausted he presses the hand of the second man, who starts whistling forthwith, while the original leader drops to the rear. As the second becomes weary, he signals in the same way to the third, and so on; in this way the whistling is continuous, and the uninitiated are convinced that it cannot be caused by mortals, even if such an idea should occur to them. If a non-member should meet the four, they would at once kill him or make him a prisoner, keeping him out of sight until he could be initiated into the society.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

575 796 787 is writhing so violently that it appears as if it would be only a few moments before he breaks loose and runs amuck. Closely guarded by a band of *kukusiut*, the second Cannibal is now taken to every house of the village. He seems to be striving to enter, and to be restrained by the *kukusiut*. All the time he growls and calls out:

I ..... .

The call of *xwa* can be used only by a Cannibal who has returned from the realms above. X meanwhile remains in his own house, to which the substitute is finally brought and the cannibalistic incubus returned by the call of *ye* .... four times repeated.

It was impossible to learn the details of a rite that occurs during the afternoon of this day. The singers have composed [533] two songs for X, one describing his adventures in the land aloft, and the other the return of the incubus which made him a flesh-eating brute. It appears probable that during the afternoon the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to learn these songs. It might be added that the ritual of a Cannibal dance differs widely from that of most *kusiut* ceremonies, since there is no *qoiem* and no *nakuxam*; the uninitiated believe that the whole affair is so serious that they are not surprised at ritualistic eccentricities.

In the evening the *kukusiut* are first summoned to X's house, and later the uninitiated. X is sitting close to the singers, with a number of *kukusiut* grouped around him in case he should become frenzied. The singers first sing over the [533] song describing the return of the Cannibal power, with the *kukusiut* joining in softly. The chorus of every Cannibal song consists of the words:

Hämämai, hämämai, häm', häm'.

[171] It is said that this same refrain is used in all Cannibal songs by the Bella Bella and Fort Rupert people; the Bella Coola, ignorant of the meaning of the words, affirm that they have none.

[533] X now talks in a low tone of voice to the singers, as if

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Several Bella Coola were questioned concerning the Cannibal spirit which Boas has described for the Kwakiutl. Some had never heard of such a creature, others had vague knowledge concerning it, and two men were able to give it a name. The one called it *Bäxbäxqwanälociwa*, the other *Bäxbäxqwaiwa*. All informants agreed that this creature was not a part of the Cannibal rites of Bella Coola and one man suggested that the cannibalistic incubus rendered it unnecessary. The Bella Coola believe that this Cannibal spirit is used in Bella Bella. During 1923 there came to Bella Coola an old Kimsquit Indian who had left his home many years ago and had since been living at Smith Inlet(?). With him came his son, a grown man, who had inherited from his mother a Kwakiutl Cannibal prerogative which he displayed in the winter of 1923-4. After the dancer had, theoretically, returned from the regions above, a large masked figure representing *Bäxbäxqwaiwa* entered through the front-door. As the singers beat time, it hopped to and fro, up and down, with snapping beak. The Bella Coola were intensely interested, and one had only to listen to their remarks when wondering what it might be, to be convinced that the Cannibal spirit is a strange concept to them. The most frequent hypothesis was that it was a *haohäo*, since the masked figure did resemble this supernatural bird. The Bella Coola greatly admired the dance, and were by no means ashamed to confess their inferiority as dancers to the Kwakiutl. After the disappearance of the masked figure, the singers sang the Cannibal's song and he danced in normal fashion, which was commented upon as another difference in custom.

THE SCRATCH DANCE

Only less awe-inspiring than the Cannibal dance is the Scratch dance. Those *kukusiut* who have this prerogative are able to scratch the bodies of their fellows, so that long, bloody weals result. The privileges and restrictions of Scratchers are closely akin to those of Cannibals, as the following points show:

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[The Scratch Dance]

and the heralds keep telling all to be attentive. The chorus for every Scratcher's song consists of the supposedly meaningless words, *'aii, 'aii*, as if a child were crying. It is said that the same refrain is used for Scratch dances by every coastal tribe. After this practice the singers chant forth X's song more loudly, the audience joins in, and he dances. The Scratch dance differs from all other *kusiut* ones in that there are no fixed movements, with the exception of keeping time to the beating of sticks with the feet. The dancer sometimes bends down and forward, with arms closely pressed between his legs, or he bends back with arms thrown upwards; to and fro and back and forth he goes with high steps or short mincing ones, with hops or jumps, his arms waving like the arms of a windmill. The best Scratch dancer is the one who can put most action and originality into his movements. The weird effect is increased by moving the facial muscles to cause strange grimaces. Four *kukusiut*, two before and two behind, accompany X. At intervals he becomes excited and seizes his own hair as if in internal agony, whereupon his guardians press the back of his neck and call *hoip* to soothe him. His dance completed, he sits down, and no other performers follow him. The presents provided by X and his relatives are then distributed, those scratched and the song makers being the chief recipients, although everyone receives something. Then there is the usual meal, accompanied by admonitions from the marshals, followed by X dancing once more to his song.

Unlike most *kusiut* ceremonials, this does not complete the night's rites. Accompanied by a number of *kukusiut*, X visits every house in the village, and dances around the fire with wildly waving arms while the whistle sounds eerily. Since the musicians do not beat time, his dance is without rhythmic qualities, otherwise it follows the lack of pattern just described. When he is brought back to his own house, the frenzied beating of sticks is twice repeated to soothe him, and water is thrown over him. Thus pacified, X goes to sleep and the *kukusiut* quietly disperse.

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[The Breaker Dance]

they do not like. No compensation can be claimed, on the theory that supernatural beings do not have to pay for any damage they may do. Although the property of some *kukusiut* is destroyed, the chief sufferers are the uninitiated; this serves to increase their fear and respect for the society with which such all-powerful beings are in league. After visiting every house in the village, the party returns to X's, where the masks are burnt, the call sent back, and the proceedings conclude in the usual manner.

A certain amount of information concerning the history of the Breaker dance was obtained from *Syuē*, the owner of the prerogative just described. He is a well-informed man, but the writer had no opportunity of comparing his beliefs with those of his associates, so the following must be regarded as unsubstantiated evidence. This man stated that the Breaker dance is the most important of all in Bella Bella, and that many Bella Coola prerogatives have been obtained from this source, although some of their first ancestors likewise enjoyed it. He further stated that the term, *nalnists*, by which the Bella Coola always designate a Breaker, is of Bella Bella origin, and that the ancient Bella Coola term was *dztia*.[*] *Syuē* also told of an occasion when a number of Bella Bella, present on the *qulux* night of a Bella Coola ceremony, were disturbed when eating by the thud of a stone thrown, from outside, against the wall of the back-room. Out rushed a number of *kukusiut*, incensed at the disrespect shown to their gathering. They caught the offender, but released him when he was found to be a Bella Bella Breaker, foolishly demonstrating his prowess. The marshals decided to retaliate and arranged with two Bella Coola Breakers to exercise their rights and destroy the canoes and food-boxes of their guests. They did so, and later paid for the damage. The Bella Coola were thus able to demon-

[*] Syuē and several of his children are the only Bella Coola known to the writer who habitually use the sound "s." For example, he says "*Snalsts*," instead of "*Snalnists*." He says that he is himself unable to distinguish any peculiarity in his own pronunciation, although other Bella Coola are aware of it.

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are present, to forget an answer is not a serious matter, but later on the uninitiated are similarly invited to guess and then correct remembering is essential. After this has gone on for some time, the singers strike up the tune of a song which they have already composed for X.* The theme is always of the land above and the wordless chorus, which is said to be the same for Mystery dancers all over the coast, is *'a'yaiwala*. The audience listen attentively so that they will be able to join in. When this has been sufficiently practised, a meal is served, amid the admonitions of the marshals. After a second practice of X's song, all is ready for a circuit of the village, the fact that it is about two or three o'clock in the morning being of no consequence.

X leads the party, followed by a considerable number of *ẖaẖaxiut*, among whom must always be his four remembrancers. They go to the lowest house of the village, which X enters, carrying his stick horizontally above his head, and proceeds with mincing steps to the central position behind the fire. He turns on himself and thrusts his staff to the floor where, to the surprise of the uninitiated, it remains upright. They do not know that the end is pointed with bone and that he has taken care to drive it down into a crack. The singers beat out X's song, in which all the *ẖaẖaxiut* join, but he does not dance. One of the singers next calls upon the people to beat time furiously with sticks brought for the purpose, and X becomes excited, shrieking out:

"Move! Move!"

It is supposed that this clamour soothes his mental anguish. A herald calls on members of the household to register their guesses, uninitiated as well as *ẖaẖaxiut* being encouraged to do so. The remembrancers use their best efforts to bear in mind the answers which are pouring in. One of the marshals ex-

*The actual tune and some of the words may have been chosen by the singers during the day, or several of them have composed tunes and now beat them out in succession until all have agreed on the best composition. Meanwhile the guests wait patiently, for time is of no moment in *ẖaẖaxiut* dances.

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tune previously described. To the Bella Coola philosopher, apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which *Saiks* was allowed to use his experience as the basis of a *kusiut* dance. The assumption is that he was a *kusiut* at the time of his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to use the name died about 1910, each *Saiks* having had the prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

THE GHOST DANCE[11]

Among the numerous patrons of *kusiut* dancers are Ghosts. The term, *ástandzi*, applied to a shaman whose power is derived from a ghost, is also applied to *kusiut* with one as patron, but the two functionaries must not be confused. It is a fairly common prerogative and there are Ghost dancers in every village, their right depending in every case on some experience of an ancestor with a ghost. The following is an account of the manner in which *Septes* of *Tcmoitl* performed his ritual; it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be referred to as X.

At any time during the ceremonial season X consults with the marshals to decide upon a suitable time for his performance. On the evening preceding, normally the *qutlum* of some other *kusiut*, the marshals state that his call is imminent; X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

When the *nuluxam* rites of the following evening have been completed and the uninitiated have returned to their own houses, they are startled to hear whistling from the forest near at hand. It is not the instrumentally produced sound that accompanies the coming of a call, but tuneless whistling with the mouth; everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts. A visitation from them is by no means unknown, and always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone cowers in the bedrooms. Presently heralds go through the village

[11] This subordinship is implied with the dance of the same name among Indians of other culture areas.

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[The Ghost Dance]

leave their bedrooms, but peer curiously and fearfully around the edge of the boards. Finally the party returns to X's house, whence the uninitiated hear the sound of sticks being beaten in a frenzied manner, but without the usual rhythmic conclusion. Each *kusiut* beats as he likes, because it is an affair of the dead with whom all things are queer and unnatural.

The ghosts wash and take their places in X's house where the singers are working on a new song. The words, as if spoken by the dancer, describe the land of the dead; how everything is green there; how the river flows from west to east so that the sun travels upstream; how the shades wished to make him a chief, and deceived him by not giving proper presents; how he visited the various towns scattered along the river, finding the bone in one of the houses; and finally how the dead told him of any mistakes in ritual that had been committed in the Bella Coola villages, in Kimsquit, or in *Tăl·is*. This last is, of course, common knowledge, but the Ghost dance is the only *kusiut* ceremonial in which such information is used in the text of a song. Details are given, but the wording is so ambiguous that when the uninitiated later hear the song they do not comprehend its meaning. Since the *kukusiut* have concealed the error referred to, the necessity for veiled allusions is apparent. Everything connected with the Ghost dance is carried out in the reverse order; thus, the reference of X to presents which he did not receive is merely an intimation that he will presently bestow gifts on the singers and the other *kukusiut* who have assisted him. The wordless chorus of the tune consists of *'aiya'axwaia*, a phrase said to be the same for Ghost dances among all the coastal tribes. The singers practise this song while the audience listens attentively; then it is sung vigorously by all, while X dances. His style differs from that of all other *kukusiut*; first one arm and then the other is kept extended, downwards, at an angle in front of the body with the forefinger pointing to the ground. This method of dancing is the prerogative of all Ghost dancers and provides a variation to the somewhat monotonous performances on different gotlem.

J. McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEG Bellacoola 3&4

but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a ceremony three or four times.

THE SUN DANCE[1]

One of the forms in which *Alpoxtóm* appears is that of the Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Xemxémtelis*. Considering the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *Sun* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants[2] were themselves protégés of *Alpoxtóm*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

Nothing was known of the origin of *any* of the Sun dance prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them from *Alpoxtóm*. It is a common right, and *Sun dancers* having *Alpoxtóm* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Xpoxtóm i of Tiemut*, and *Nxemxémtelxtn of Nuxpelt*. So far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

Like other *Sacred dancers*, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *Initiates* gather in his house to practise the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme of *Alpoxtóm*, describing his manifold functions, and particularly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the masks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are required; a large one representing *Alpoxtóm* himself, one of

[1] Similar to, or sometimes or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

[2] Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 69

(g) A reference to a wooden sidewalk in the last above, described absolutely as [illegible] 533 *
[illegible] the construction.

(h) The significance is as follows. The Crowfoot is a powerful fish, to be walked on the sidewalk, it wouldn't do that across the sidewalk upon it was walked on if he had been holding a sword but would be a hero's business.

(i) Nevertheless, the dancer's partner, guards his path along the sidewalk by shooting his fingers. This has the further implication of [illegible], were there are referred to as their Puppet all during the shooting. The whole phrase is consistently [illegible].

(j) The dancer's partner.

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

(a) This man had long been resident in Bella Coola and decided to perform the [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] dance, in the great interest of the Bella Coola. This took place during
the [illegible] of 1922-3, the first time that such had ever occurred.

(b) Recorded on song [illegible] in the National Museum of Canada, ought, the [illegible]
Bella. The song was composed by Kimsquit Alex, and is probably translated
from the Crowfoot.

(c) This is: The supernatural beings.

(d) This is: Human Beings.

(e) This is a Crowfoot supernatural being, the dancer's partner, and equivalent [illegible]
to the Bella Coola Thunderbird. The dancer's self consequently was not as [illegible]
a supernatural.

(f) This is: The supernatural beings.

(g) This is: [illegible] and the other supernatural [illegible] called out.

(h) This is: When [illegible] has moved to and the dancer during [illegible]
dish. [illegible] is a Crowfoot supernatural being who is evoked in this
Crowfoot dances.

[illegible]

intense pain caused him to shriek in agony. Judging by the sound that the guards had been overcome and were being killed, the raiders were thrown into confusion. With one accord they abandoned the wreck and fled to their canoes, those who had reached them pushed off at once, abandoning their less fortunate comrades to their fate.

One of Pukeo's wives was a Hello Hello who loved him a deal beyond others, a woman Parawhe, might be among the survivors. In the confusion that followed the war she called out to her native speech:

'Parawhe, are you there?'

The Hello Girls had actually been sentenced by a number of Hello Hello volunteers including Parawhe, but he had made good his escape. Another Hello Hello, too fortunate, noticed that this was a chance for help and called back, mirroring the voice of the man addressed. The woman was deceived and still too in fear one of the Hello Girls came into the water and that she could bring paddles as soon as she could do so undiscovered. Almost two of the attackers took possession of a large canoe, but their courage failed as they waited for the women with paddles and they shoved off, propelling the craft with their hands. Aided by an all-above wind, they were able to send away from the coast and had almost reached a bay also when they saw another canoe coming to Pukeo's assistance. A fight ensued, the refugees were driven ashore to the island and their canoe carried off. Even in their perilous position, the party continued to struggle. Some covered the heads to relieve pain from the bark of which the Carriers used to make canoes, as we well known, although not generally practised by the coastal tribes. One had swept over the island so that only two trees were found, the the canoeists hastily pulled both from them, fashioned it into rude canoes, and pushed off with their friends, having never been recovered. The canoe had ultimately reached Hello Girls after various adventures.

Among the seven abandoned was the mother of the father of the man from whom the account was obtained, as well as the grandfather of a middle-aged Kimsquit man with whom he was also discussed. The one brother was overjoy, was whose forces had been victorious. The said to the other:

'You are always bossing of your wives, and it was opportune to display it. Some scouts and send a force from the village to overtake.'

Three urged, the men agreed to make the attempt, this impressing the others was to kill his brother, the originator of the scheme, to one of his supporters, though this was the usual penalty for proposing a plan which led to the death of another. But the Hello Hello who had believed Parawhe's voice ceased on taking his life. He stripped, had a knife in his hand, took a board for support, and swayed the draft. He had no

CHAPTER IV

GAMES

The subject of games, lying on the border-line of social customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered an exhaustive enumeration of the subject.

Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling. The former appears to have been an ancient diversion; picked crews from different villages competed until the encouraging shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which used to be common during all non-secret gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young and old, is the telling of stories. These of a sacred nature, especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for ceremonial occasions, but the older men and women remember many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same recital fifty times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven survived his trials or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these stories are somewhat tedious, others appear keenly funk,

2: McGeorge E-2 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

he is wrong, he pays them. It is said that in former times each stick used to be painted with a special device, and that each had its own name; even nowthey are beautifully made and highly polished by much passing from hand to hand. The Carriers play the same game but use beaver teeth instead of sticks. Formerly it was not uncommon for a man to bet his goods, his wives and children, and even himself at this game. If he lost, the persons so wagered became slaves of the victor unless redeemed by their friends. Women, too, gambled freely; in fact, neophytes recently admitted into the *Dsoiat* society were the only ones to whom his pastime was forbidden.

Of actual games, the one most commonly played is *skloa*. As many as eight or ten contestants can take part, each providing himself with one, two, or three stones,[1] perked down to the proper shape. Each is about six inches in length, three inches wide, flat on one side, and oval on the other, well rounded at either end. Before the coming of the white man, when the Bella Coola historically used stone, it is said that one of these could be smoothed in a few minutes. A mark is set up, and the first player throws his missile in the air, endeavouring to make it come to rest close as possible to the target. The game is usually played on an open space near the village, but even on comparatively smooth ground there is great chance of bouncing and the thrower must gauge this possibility as well as have correct direction and distance. The second player likewise throws his stone, trying to land it nearer the target, or to knock away his rival's. In so doing, the latter, lying on the ground, is often broken, which puts its owner out of the game for the time being. When all have thrown, the one who has come nearest the mark is the winner. Sometimes each contestant throws two stones, and sometimes sides are chosen. Large number of broken gaming stones can be found near every old village-site, confirming the statements of the older men and women concerning the universality of the sport

[1] Whether called *skloa* or not, this would seem to be derived from that of a fungus, or else the latter is derived from it.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

$539 "Cut him in pieces," she said, "as you would with salmon preparatory to smoking."

Mink was in the canoe and heard her injunction. He willed that the captain should steer a course near the shore, and when the canoe was rounding a point he jumped overboard and succeeded in reaching the land, where he sought refuge. The raiders chased him on shore so hotly that Mink was finally forced to hide in a small hole under the rocks, but on entering it he took with him some shell-fish. One of the pursuers, seeing the hole, thrust his spear down into it, but Mink smeared on this the entrails of the shell-fish. When the raiders saw the gore on the spear they concluded they had killed him and went off.

As soon as his enemies had gone away, Mink sneaked out and grabbed the old woman by the back of the neck, yelling in her ear:

"What did you call out to the raiders?"

"I told them to take good care of you," she replied, "that you were like a son to me."

"Did you indeed?" said Mink, who had heard perfectly what she said.

First he bit off her legs, then chewed to pieces the rest of her body, shredding it into scraps which he threw into the water, telling them to become crabs.

This is the origin of crabs.

THE FIRE

[821] Almost three generations after the first people had come to this earth, Mink went up to *Nusmis* and asked *Sapoonkan* to lend him his robe, so that he might take his place as sun. The request was granted, but, once given control of the sun, Mink guided the canoe-like luminary so close to earth that the rivers and oceans boiled, and it was only to the glaciers that the people were able to cool. At Kwaquit a man and his dog were turned to stone; it is said that they can still be seen in this form.[1]

Animals as well as men suffered from Mink's wickedness. Grizzly Bear's coat was singed to its present rusty colour; Weasel tried to hide himself but failed to draw in the end of his tail which was burnt black, a mark still carried by all his descendants; Clam closed his shell for protection and so was blackened only on its outer; all the other creatures suffered in various ways.

[171] [1] A similar belief is said to be shared by the Cowichan people of Vancouver Island. About 1880, a considerable amount of charred wood was found four feet beneath the surface of the ground, on the mountain west of the Nechacomeen River. The Bella Coola consider this to be proof of the disaster.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

racks; metal coal-oil cans are found convenient for this purpose and have almost replaced watertight boxes. After repeated steamings and skimmings, all that remains is a mass of putrid flesh, bearing no resemblance whatever to the fish from which it came. The Kitlobs are said to compress this into cakes for eating, but the Bella Coola threw it away. Some cooks boil out the drops by hand, but many of the low-kettles have a bung-hole at the bottom which, when opened, allows the semi-liquid remains to flow out into a rough trough leading to the river. As soon as one batch of oleachen has thus been disposed of, another is boiled and refined in the same way. The grease keeps indefinitely and is a useful article of barter with the Carriers as well as a staple of Bella Coola diet. Although the preparation removes much of its offensive odour, oleachen grease has an unpleasant taste to the white man.

During the boiling, all other activities are suspended and the people spend practically all their time on the river bank. If the fish are allowed to cut too long, much of the grease is lost, so men, women, and children are pressed into service to make the most of the short period. The men rise at dawn to start the fires on the bank, the women and children follow with food, and for several days the whole village camps, as if on a picnic, amid an indescribably foul smell that almost strikes anyone passing within hundreds of yards. There are tasks for everyone; the fish must be carried from the pits to the furnaces, wood must be brought, the fires stoked, the kettles stirred, the grease carried away, the fireplaces repaired, food cooked, and a hundred other chores. It is a scene of great activity, carried on with good humour and merriment, for the Bella Coola realize that they are storing up luxuries for the following winter. Even the dogs seem to share the general excitement, and do not hesitate to eat the dregs from the kettles, which, when emptied into the river, attract numerous crest and gulls, to the joy of small boys with burning desires.

BELLA COOLA CANOES

Although travel and transport by water is still as vital to the Bella Coola as it was to their forbears, the native boat is fast replacing the canoe, and the science of manufacturing their own craft is being lost. In former times several types were constructed, but only one of these is still employed—the spoon canoe, *tu'tu*, used as ferry (see Plate 21). These vary from twenty to thirty feet or more in length, and are about four feet wide; they are without keels, and there is no difference between the bow and stern. Although one man can handle such a craft in smooth water, at least two are required for a journey of any length, and four is the usual crew. The captain, who is either the best waterman or the one most familiar with the route, stands in the stern, the second is amidships

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

of the older people remember using in their youth another type, *tskut*, with a high raised prow; this may have been identical with the *nulka* which others describe as having an elevated bow and a low stern. An entirely different craft was the *nuskmal'i*, named from one of the parts, probably the white-fronted grebe. A strip of maple fastened along each side caught the water in moving, with a sound like that of the peculiar running flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open type of canoe made by the Haida was known to the Bella Coola, but not constructed by them. Sails were used on all ocean-going canoes; they were usually of matting, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

Canoes are occasionally lashed together. In several *kuxtsr* dances a wide platform for dancing is required, and the need is met by lashing planks crosswise over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform so constructed. Careful inquiries showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement; the beams were not bound in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes the same expedient was used for transport when the load was too heavy for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more commonly by the tribes of the outer coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are named *ts'amtsis*.

Kalis, *xaxlma'a*, consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work when canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to make bark canoes, such as are still constructed by the Carriers. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their southern tribes whose canoes, it is said, can be folded for portaging. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola knew how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CEDAR-BARK

Early spring is the time to *xaxakmal*, that is, to gather the inner bark of the cedar. This occasionally eaten in the bark, though this is usually women's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively few limbs knots. With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, two or three feet from the ground, sometimes girdling the sapling. Then she inserts her

Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NEB Bellevue NEB
Carter NE?
Thomson NE15
Seward NE19
Chilcotin NE?

Southern Carrier: Raw shoots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach. Essentially the decoction made from the bark of the aspen (page 84), or from the raw shoots and bark of the birkland spruce (page 81), but the last-mentioned considered most efficacious.

Northern Carrier: Needle tips mixed with large needle tips of the "Dorset Columbia pine" (*Pinus* sp.?), the inside bark of the wild gooseberry (*Ribes* sp.?), bark of the red-osier dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera* Michx.), the inside pulp of rugosety canes (*Rubus* sp.), stems of the "loneberry" (black twinberry, *Lonicera involucrata* Banks?), and the inner bark of the wild rose (*Rosa* sp.), placed in a vessel holding four gallons of water, boiled down to a thick decoction, strained, and bottled. About two tablespoonfuls taken, as emetic and purge, for constitutional weakness or paralysis, or if the body were covered with sores.

Cure obtained by tearing a green piece of pine (sp.?) pointed on the eye to remove white scum and to cure snow-blindness.

Sikani: Pitch stewed and the saliva swallowed for a cough.

Gitksan: Inner bark (scraped from the trunk with a bone scraper after the outer bark had been removed) eaten both for food and as a blood purifier. Purged the body in from half an hour to an hour.

Shavings of the yellow resinous cinder found after removal of the bark boiled, the decoction placed in oil, and taken internally as a purgative and diuretic for many serious ailments, including consumption. Said to produce beneficial results in "consumption."

Young needles plucked in June and eaten as a purgative and diuretic.

For use with a lure, see page 88.

Abies grandis Lindl., White Fir, Balsam Fir

Bella Coola: Bark of root or of stem boiled, and the decoction taken internally every day for intercostals and stomach trouble. Said to have cured many cases of tuberculosis.

Gum from bark blisters found on young trees warmed, mixed with mountain goat tallow, and taken internally for sore throat, also drops on a bit eaten sore eyes.

Young green leaves boiled, mixed with buds of skunk cabbage (*Lysichiton camtschatcense* Schott.) gathered in October, or the buds gathered in April, split, dried on top of the house, mixed, mixed with a small quantity of slightly roasted roots of dog bane, namely (*Apocynum hypericifolium* Ait.), one or two cupfuls of the grassy buds of the black willow-weed (*Epilobium angustifolium* L. and G.), and four or five cupfuls of bark collection oil, allowed to stand one day, then boiled and kept in a box for a hair perfume. Gitksan believed said to be quite expert in the preparation.

Southern Carrier: Tree used for medicine, but details not obtained.
Chilcotin: Not used.

9: Smith E-9 (1920-1923)/929 NEH Bellacoola 306
CARRIER NEH
TILLAMOOK NEH5

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Smoke from the burning roots inhaled for bad dreams, hallucinations, and clairvoyance (a remedy avoided by medicine men, lest it destroy their magical power). Roots themselves considered poisonous.

Leaves used to sit or lie on when taking a sweat bath for rheumatism; also spread over the affected parts.

Calla palustris L., Wyeth Arum

Others: Roots well boiled and the decoction taken internally to clearing the eyes of the blind, for hemorrhage, for short breath, and biliousness.

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757

LILIACEAE, LILY FAMILY

Chlorogalum pomeridianum Kunth., Queens Cup

Bella Coola: Boiled and used to wash the body. One leaf rolled and applied as a poultice to eyes or wounds.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Others: Not used.

Smilacina racemosa L., False Solomon's Seal

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Others: Roots boiled and decoction taken internally as a very strong medicine for rheumatism, sore back, and kidney trouble, a purgative. Bark and leaves unlike. Roots smelled and tasted as cola.

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[752]

Veratrum viride Ait., False Hellebore

Bella Coola: Small bulbs or scrapings of large bulbs, boiled, and one cupful or less of the decoction, according to the strength of the patient, taken internally for chronic cough, groundhogs, constipation, pain in the stomach, and many illnesses. Two or three cupfuls avoided as emetic. Said to be poisonous if eaten raw.

Small pieces of the raw root swallowed with a little cold water as emetic for pains in the stomach. Three water taken if all the pieces are vomited. Overdose considered fatal.

See also second prior (page 69).

Southern Carrier: Roots were dried in the sun, and particularly rubbing on a stone. Also a decoction of the powder taken in hot water as an emetic for sickness. Too strong a decoction considered fatal.

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757

SAXIFRAGACEAE, WILLOW FAMILY

Ribes bracteosum Dougl., Winter

Bella Coola: Six sticks about a foot long charred, and pulverized on a stone. A teaspoonful of the powder taken in a cupful of cold water for diarrhoea. Said to affect a man in only an hour's time.

A piece of the bark boiled with sand and the bitter edge tasted (are a death sin); other edge then squeezed and flattened down, and the wound covered with eagle down. Thought to make the pus come out. Same process used to heal sickness in the abdomen made by those who tried to cure pain in the stomach.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Others: Not used.

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Photo No. F. S. Dunmore showed the woman how this plant should be used by crushing with a stone and boiling a while.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

Fomes Laricis (Jacq.), more generally known as **Polyporus officinalis** Fries, A Shelf Fungus

Bella Coola: This (?) fungus ground, steeped in water, and the decoction taken internally for gonorrhoea.

Southern Carrier: If found on the Douglas fir tree, dried, powdered, a handful steeped in boiling water and the hot decoction taken internally as an emetic and purgative. Said to act within an hour. Not used if found on any other tree.

(According to Dr. John Dearness, this is a medical polypore, perhaps the only fungus used by pharmacists. Park, Davis, and Company make a fluid extract and a triturate which is prescribed for the relief of night sweats in tuberculosis. The fungus is a cathartic in large doses. Its medicinal virtues have long been known in the old world.)

Boviста pila B. and C., Puff Ball.

Bella Coola: Spores dusted on wounds, sores of gonorrhoea, and suppurating sores other than boils.

LICHEN

Bella Coola: A certain long, white lichen, if found on the red alder tree, warmed, and applied to a broken boil or suppurating sore.

Sticta sp., Lichen

Bella Coola: Entire plant, if from red-cedar dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera* Michx.) or crab apple (*Pyrus diversifolia* Bong.), but not from willow (*Salix* sp.), boiled, and five cupfuls of the hot decoction taken internally daily for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea, constipation, or vomiting. Neither a purgative nor an astringent.

Entire plant boiled and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

Entire plant pulverized and applied to skin.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

KELP

Bella Coola: A small kelp found on the rocks sometimes used for a sweat bath. *See* western dock, page 86.

WOOD SAP

Bella Coola: The sap that oozes from any kind of wood when burning considered a good remedy for sores.

MOUNTAIN GOAT

Oreamnos Montanus, Ord., Mountain Goat

Bella Coola: Mountain goat fat boiled with droppings of goose that had fed on roots, and the mixture given to babies once or twice a day for colds.

Goat meat with droppings of the bushy-tailed woodrat, commonly called packrat (*Neotoma cinerea*), taken internally with water as a remedy for nursing babies when they had colds.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

The gens Spatsā'lh have breakers painted on the house-front, and use in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (ā'-ents), of the crow, and of the black bear.

The gens Tsmqsī'akyas use the mask of Ōxsnaiā'mas (=the sleeper) and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ak'amil'ōt of the Nōxk'ā'laxmx use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Ialo'atsmīt of the Talio'mx use the raven, robin (*mī'a'gmx*), eagle, whale, the bird *t'ā'xelala* (genus?), and *x'ulsd'ēx*, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the *cane'ōts* suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Nūl'ā'l has the name Smī'ōx (=the north wind). He has the mountain Sawī'kax surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 3). Another object belonging to his crest represents waves.

The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the decision being left to the choice of the parents.

Secret Societies and the Potlatch.

The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bīlqula are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sīsa'ōx, and the Kī'usīk. The Sīsa'ōx corresponds to the Tlōx'ua of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Kī'usīk to the Te'tēmx'ōx. The Bīlqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qā'mūtsta, to whom were the ocarina is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Qā'mūtsta.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Qmq'umā'ōtsta.

house in the far west, and arises at 01 every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children.

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The most ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are buried. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, headdresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the column. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be.

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a stone knife into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four stone knives into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they shoot four small arrows and creep through the skills, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, shooting arrows every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is buried. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones.

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to wash or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh berries or chicken. Widow and widower observe themselves in the same way as other mourners. These observances are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person.

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relatives invite the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion to singe a mourning song for the deceased and give away presents to his people. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was the same as giving away the house of the deceased.

Religion and Mythology.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to

what cause this divergence is due. Mythology and religion are so closely connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Sun, the sun-god (compare sing. sun). The rays of the sun are his eyelashes. When prayed to he is called Tsul'ke. In praying the Bilqula look heavenward. I obtained the following formulæ: *Nilkaw ulá'ilang, Tsul'ke,* 'Look on us whom we are praying, Tsul'ke,' and *Tsul'ke, attsultsumá'ilg,* 'Take care of us, Tsul'ke.' Sun is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with the actions and thoughts of men. These are given by Hamamalt'aiq. According to the tradition of the Bilqula, before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Hamamalt'aiq, Tsle'tsmut, Mathqa'nquek, and Ial'ialk'alk. The raven wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They assembled in the sky, and tore the curtain, which up to that time had been suspended between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The raven ascended to heaven through the slit made by Hamamalt'aiq, and found there a beautiful prairie country in which all the birds lived. Hamamalt'aiq and his brethren painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his arts. The raven was not content with the sun, and resolved to try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the sun-g'mis (no description of, as nobody but is drowsing). The sun-g'mis was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously, and kept it suspended from one of the rafters of his house. The raven knew that he could not obtain it by sheer force, and resorted to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pond from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pond, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the sun-g'mis. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Hamamalt'aiq said: 'Let us make men.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Mathqa'nquek and Ial'ialk'alk tried likewise to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Tsle'tsmut carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Hamamalt'aiq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch animals, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that men should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by men.

The Bilqula believe that Hamamalt'aiq and his brethren still continue to give new ideas to men. They say that any new design of painting or carving, or any other new invention, made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Hamamalt'aiq.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

The soul is believed to dwell in the eggs. It is similar in shape to a bird enclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies away the owner must die. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls.

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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking the shell. The shaman bears its hunting wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of the swoon. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the swoon becomes crazy.

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Dog. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as in the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Dog will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: "When an Ā'wiky'ĭ'wag wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountains where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Mā'tsem) who will initiate him. Dr. Hāpele can obtain the art in such a way."

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 617). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the [illegible] described (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 118), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions evolved by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called qaiē. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is included in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. By charms one counteracts these charms.

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If meat is thrown in the corpse's eye and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is hot, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

I will have a few current beliefs.—

Dreaming indicates that people are talking about one.
Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.
Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eye indicates that one will cry.
If a dog frisks and howls in the sleep its owner will die.
The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky.

Wake.

When a war party was expected the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar bark and adorned their

They had hit a stone, and their points were broken. He said there were 539
time, and when it was nearly dark he returned home. Before he reached 776
his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Lynx had done. When it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed it on a stick, and put it near the fire; and as soon as it grew warm, the Raven cried, "Tsa! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you do so." He jumped up and took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly. The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first one to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then the Lynx took some fat, and hung one piece to each of the Raven's children. He cut some meat and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said, "I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up in company with yours."

It is said that the former spirit Tsa'lsa'k was killed at one time by an 713
Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IV. It belongs to 776
the tribe of the village Nasaa'q!. A similar tradition is told of Asem,[1] 776
by which name the Carrier call the Raven, their principal culture hero. [170]
Many traditions referring to Asem are common to the Carrier, the Bella Coola, and the Awik'enoxt of Kwatna Inlet.

The Bella Coola believe that a being called K'tem is the father of all 776
mountain-goats. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a rat. Then 825
he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is K'tem, it will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter should then succeed the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall and die.

The thunder-storm is produced by the Thunder-bird, who lives on the 776
mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his [821]
particular friends. The Thunder-bird himself is represented by a black mask with red mouth. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI, [823]
Fig. 1). His bowstring is called Ax-aalc'ipnaem (Plate XI, Fig. 2). His face is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff, which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of the Thunder-bird's house. In his house live the Rabbit (Plate XI, Fig. 3); the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunder-bird (Plate XI, Fig. 4); the Mountain, c!ā'qoa (Plate XI, Fig. 5); the Rainbow (Plate XI, Fig. 6). [879]

[1] Footnotes to Section translated by Franz Boas and Henry W. Tate, page 48.

mythologies to those of the interior. It is unnecessary to revert to this subject here. The similarity of the Bella Coola legends to those of the other Coast tribes on the one hand, and to the traditions of the Athapascan tribes on the other, is evident.

It is, however, important to compare their social organization with that of the neighbouring tribes, in order to gain a clearer understanding of the origin of their peculiar organization. As stated before, the Bella Coola are divided into village communities, which are organized on an endogamic basis. Each village community has its tradition, which is represented in certain ceremonies. The supernatural beings which play a part in these traditions are personified by certain dancers. Other Coast tribes have a much more complex organization. The Tlingit and Haida are divided into two clans, each of which is subdivided into a great many families, which, as it would seem, were originally village communities. This opinion is based on the fact that the names of many of the families must be translated as "inhabitants of such and such a place." The two clans are present in all the villages of the tribe, each family belonging to either one clan or the other. The Tsimshian have the same system, except that the number of clans is four instead of two. Each tribe is divided into families, which embrace the inhabitants of a certain region; but all the families of the whole tribe are classified according to the four clans. Among the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian, descent is purely maternal; among the northern Kwakiutl tribes, conditions are somewhat different, according to observations made by Dr. Livingston Farrand. Here we have village communities which are subdivided according to four clans in the same way as those of the Tsimshian, but descent is not purely maternal. There is a strong preponderance of the latter form of descent, but parents are at liberty to place their children in either the paternal or maternal clan. The preponderance of maternal descent is, however, so strong, that from my previous occasional inquiries I drew the inference that descent was purely maternal.

Among the southern Kwakiutl tribes the families constituting a village community are subdivided into a number of clans, but each clan is confined to one village. We do not find a limited number of clans pervading the whole tribe, as we do among the northern tribes. An analysis of the social organization of this tribe has shown that the present organization has evidently developed from a previous simpler state, in which the tribe was divided into single village communities. The present more complex organization resulted from the amalgamation of various villages. Owing to the influence of the customs of the northern tribes, each village community adopted a clan, which in course of time became the name of the clan.[1] The Kwakiutl have a peculiar organization, which may be considered a transitional stage between

[1] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] natural and general institutions. Descent is in the paternal line; but a man, at the time of his marriage, receives his father-in-law's crest as a dowry, which he holds in trust for his son, so that actually each individual inherits the crest of his maternal grandfather. The clans are exogamic.

The organization of the Salish tribes of the southern coast, who are linguistically closely related to the Bella Coola, is somewhat similar to that of the Kwakiutl. They are divided into village communities, a few of which have amalgamated, as, for instance, among the Salish tribes of Vancouver Island, among whom the tribe consists of a number of septs, each of which owns a separate village. Here the influence of northern customs is very much evident. While most of the village communities have certain crests, these do not play so important a part in the social life of the tribe or in its mythology as they do among the Kwakiutl, and the village communities are not exogamic. The Salish tribes of the interior are organized in very loose village communities without any trace of crests.

The fundamental difference between the northern tribes and the southern tribes consists, therefore, in the fact that the northern tribes have a limited number of clans which are present in all the villages, while among the southern tribes the village community is the only unit of organization.

The organization of the Bella Coola resembles most closely that of the Coast Salish tribes of southern British Columbia. In both cases the tribe is divided into village communities, which possess crests and traditions. The latter feature is, however, very much more strongly developed among the Bella Coola than among the southern tribes. They differ in their laws of intermarriage. While among the southern Coast Salish tribes there is a tendency to exogamy, the Bella Coola have developed a system of endogamy.

The tribes of the Coast Salish of the Gulf of Georgia claim descent from mythical ancestors, who are believed to have originated at the place which the tribe now inhabit. A number of traditions of this kind have evidences of having been derived from historical events. Some of the tribes in the delta of Fraser River have traditions which refer to the amalgamation of tribes who descended from the mountains, and who are described as the descendants of animals living in the mountains, and of the natives of the delta.[1] I believe that the tribal traditions of the Bella Coola which were told to a previous chapter also bear evidence of the historical base of the tribe. It is very remarkable that the important tradition of Tsimshian gives Fraser River as the place to which he descended from heaven. In another tradition, Bella Bella is given as the place at which one of the Bella Coola tribes originated. In still another one, Skeena River is mentioned as the home of one of the tribes (see p. 69). I do not doubt that these allusions to tribes

[1] [illegible]

inhabited by Salish tribes refer to the early separation of the Bella Coola tribe from the related tribes of the Gulf of Georgia, and that in their traditions they have retained the memory of the emigration of part of the tribe from the southern territory. It seems also probable that the allusion to the origin of one family of the tribe on Dean River refers to a mixture with the tribes inhabiting northern British Columbia.

The traditions of the tribes also describe the style of house used by the ancestors of certain village communities; and it is interesting to note that some of these houses correspond to the subterranean lodges that were in use among the Chilcotin, while others correspond to the type that were in use among the Carrier. It is said that the ancestors of the Nuxa'lk and the subterranean lodge which is called talpa (see p. 63), while the ancestors of the Nuqa'lk'an used the skin lodge which is called ek'wa (see p. 64).

Since the Bella Coola retain the fundamental traits of the social organization of their congeners to the south, and since their tradition has evidence of an emigration from that region, and since, furthermore, the linguistic evidence proves that the Bella Coola and the Coast Salish at one time inhabited contiguous areas on the coast, we are justified in assuming that the general culture of the Bella Coola at the time of their emigration must have resembled that of the Coast Salish. The question then arises, How did the peculiar totemic system and the remarkable mythology of the Bella Coola originate from the much simpler forms that we find among the Coast Salish?

One of the most remarkable features in the inner life of the tribes of the northern coast of British Columbia is the great importance of the clan legend, which is considered one of the most valuable properties of each clan or family. It is carefully guarded in the same way as material property, and an attempt on the part of a person not a member of the clan to tell the tradition or his own is considered one of the gravest offences against property rights. The possession of a clan tradition is felt by the Indian to be one of its most important prerogatives. When, therefore, the Bella Coola settled on Bella Coola River, and were thrown into contact with the northern Coast tribes, the lack of a well-developed clan tradition must have been felt as a serious drawback. The physical appearance of the Bella Coola proves that at one time they must have intermarried to a great extent with the Bella Bella. Through these marriages the peculiar customs of the Coast tribes were first introduced among them. This is shown by the fact that a great many of the mythological names can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin, of which stock the Bella Bella are a branch. Thus the name for their supreme deity, Snaⁿyaitla, is a Kwakiutl word meaning "the one who must be worshipped." The name Q'aqlsaitl!a'a is also of Kwakiutl origin, and may be translated as "the wealthiest one." The great frequency of

follow either father or mother, but that it had not the right to use the property of both parents. It seems to my mind that the former method was more likely to develop under the existing social conditions, and that to this reason we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among this tribe is quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions, and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to note that the northern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a notable difference in the organization of the village community, between the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find four ancestors to each village,—usually three men and one woman. It is true that these are generally called brothers and sister, but they were created independently by Snaw, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood relations. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the descendants of one single being; consequently, among the latter tribe they are all relatives, who are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

My interest is, therefore, that the curious social system of the Bella Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes upon the home social unit of the Salish village community. The possession of clan traditions was felt as a great advantage, and consequently the desire developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by intermarriage with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the traditions over the whole tribe.

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own clan traditions. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the well-known raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families as a family tradition. But while one family uses one part of the tradition, other families use other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Mink was essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that Tsimsiyu, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies in the traditions referring to the visit of the Mink and Wasp to their father, the Sun, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast, they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to Sunx or Ta'ats bear a remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Laxha, the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from the Coast tribes is the k!a'siut ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism. The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 34) the legend explaining the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsi'wae, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practiced by three distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious inconsistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the word and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not co-ordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 639-699.

8:Boas E-5 (1884-ca. 1890)897
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(820) One of them must wash his body, one must wash his head, and the two others hold him. In return they receive one or two blankets each. During this ceremony the qaqa'wiɬ, who are described as wild men, dance around the novice. They have ropes tied around their waists, and are held by other members of the society by these ropes. Then the ceremonial lead the novice into the woods, where he remains for a long time, until he meets the spirit that initiates him. It seems that during this time he is secretly led to the house in which the ceremonial continue to celebrate festivals at the expense of the novice's father, and there he is taught the secrets of the society. During this time, until the return of the novice from the woods, the house is tabooed. A watchman is stationed at the entrance, who keeps out uninitiated persons. During the absence of the novice, his mother prepares cedar-bark ornaments and weaves mountain-goat blankets for his use. One afternoon he returns, and then his father gives a feast to let the people know that his child has returned. The latter performs his first dance, in which he uses masks and cedar-bark ornaments. This dance is called nɛxnɛ'mɛxɛ. On this day the father must distribute a great number of blankets among the ceremonial. The initiated are permitted to take part in the feast, and sit on one side of the house. The new member spends all his nights in the woods, where he bathes. In the spring the new member, if a man, is thrown into the sea, and after that is free from all regulations attending the initiation. One of the principal regulations regarding novices of the ceremonial is that they must return from the woods in the direction in which the sun is moving, starting so that the sun is at their backs. Therefore they must sometimes go to roundabout ways. They must go backward through doors, which are sɛ'ɛ'lɛxɛm (supernatural) against them. Frequently the sɛ'ɛ'xa (a female shaman) is called to henpeck the door in their behalf before they pass through it. Before their doors the sɛ'ɛ'xa must also address the earth, as it is supposed that else it might open and swallow up the dancer. It is also sɛ'ɛ'lɛxɛm against the novice. The expression used is that the earth would "open its eyes" (k'ɛ'ɛ'xɛlɛmɛxɛ); that means, swallow the novice. In order to avert this danger, the sɛ'ɛ'xa must "give a name to the earth," and show red paint and feathers over the place where the novice is to dance.

THE BɬᏁLA.

(821) The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the BɬᏁla are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the polaxɬ, the sɛnɛ'x, and the kɛ'ɛ'wɛt. The sɛnɛ'x corresponds to the La'lasa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the kɛ'ɛ'wɛt to the tɛ'ɛ'tɛ'ɛqa. The BɬᏁla believe that the polaxɬ has been initiated by ten deities, nine brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Xɛ'ɛ'xɛlɛns, to whose care the novice is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful house in the far east, and cries "ɛ, ɛ,"

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776

come to dance in the same way as she and her friends. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person dies on, your people shall dance the devil. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In common, while I am in my house, you must not dance the devil.'

Dinè show that they the Diyinis dance the devil. When a man has seen Anaiteshi'i sitting in front of his hogan, he will invite the people to a devil. A ring made of red and white meal belt is hung up in his hogan, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the holy house. Each devil lasts three days.

The various dances performed by members of the devil are also property of the clan, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as in the case with the ceremonial dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payment. The owner may exhibit the dance at the hogan of any person at any time. Membership of the devil is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his devil name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Tsiyi until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of Ashkéyi. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the ceremonies, the initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that in most "dances" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the devil have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the Ghostway (the initiate's of the Evilwind), the Fire (the initiate of the Evilwind), and the Water (the initiation of the Evilwind). These grades are also hereditary. A devil novice may acquire three or more of the four initiates.

When the Ghostway is initiated, he goes into the hogan, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sky, and formerly he had to take home flesh along for food. The chief held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the Ghostway. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the Ghostway order devoured one half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears

[illegible]